Roman Gods

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Roman Gods

A Conceptual Approach

by

Michael Lipka

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The only reason why this book is not dedicated to my ever patient wife and children is my wish to avoid being tediously repetitive.

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INTRODUCTION

This book is concerned with the concept of 'god' in the city of Rome, as it was, by and large, confined within the Aurelian Walls. The book's timeframe is the early Republic up to the era of Constantine, i.e. from ca. 500 B.C. to 350 A.D. I will sometimes draw on material that falls outside these local and chronological boundaries, most notably in the case of the cult of Dea Dia, which although situated at the fifth milestone of the Via Campana is immediately relevant to the situation in Rome.

The concept of 'god' forms an important part of the broader category of 'Roman Religion' but it is not identical with it. In other words, this book is limited to the single concept that was normally labeled 'deus' by the inhabitants of Rome. It refers to other concepts which belong to the sphere of 'Roman Religion' only as constituents of this concept of 'god'. These constituent concepts could not be discussed in their own right due to the lack of space and in order not to blur the clarity of the main argument.

Before embarking on my own project I will attempt to sketch some main lines of interpretation in modern scholarship. These lines are not always clearly visible and straight. There were numerous intersections and revisions not only in the work of adherents of different schools, but often within the œuvre of a single scholar. Since it would be presumptuous to try to summarize here the tortuous path of scholarship on Roman religion in general I will concentrate on those aspects that are relevant to my own enterprise. Although the concept of 'god' cannot always be completely detached from the wider term 'Roman religion,' emphasis, as I have said above, will be laid on the former.

Twentieth-century-scholarship on Roman Religion in general, and on the Roman concept of 'god' in particular, begins with Georg Wissowa's two monumental editions of his 'Religion und Kultus der Römer', the first of which was published in 1902 followed by a second, enlarged and partly rewritten version in 1912. At a time when religious studies were often under the dazzling influence of Frazer's comparative approach (couched in the Cambridge scholar's powerful language), Wissowa explicitly followed his mentor Mommsen in insisting on the

uniqueness and individuality (one of his most favoured terms was 'Eigenart') of Roman religion.[1] He stated bluntly that, as far as Roman religion was concerned, he "could not gain anything substantial" from Fraser's writings.[2]

Wissowa's *Religion und Kultus* consisted of three parts: (a) a historical overview, (b) individual deities, and (c) forms of veneration. The book was unmistakably organized along the lines of the structure and terminology of Varro's *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum*.[3] The middle section, on individual deities, was divided into subsections dealing with indigenous gods and various categories of foreign and newly created deities that had entered the Roman pantheon at some stage. This middle section was by far the most extensive part of the book, showing Wissowa's emphasis on individual deities. Here he gave a masterly account of all material that could be reasonably connected with all those divine entities whose existence was somehow attested for the Roman pantheon, starting with Ianus and Iuppiter (the first two of the forty-one chapters of this section). Wissowa here arranged the archaeological and philological material in a Varronian fashion around stereotyped Latin categories, such as the names of individual gods, festivals, priesthoods etc. In other words, his method rested predominantly on the notion of individual, largely self-contained, and clearly labeled Varronian categories that formed the grid on which Roman religious life/society could be systematically reconstructed. Wissowa's unique command of the material and the clarity of his argument remain unrivalled more than a century after the publication of *Religion und Kultus*. His importance has been duly acknowledged by modern scholars, even by those whose approaches differ substantially from his own. For instance, Dumézil wrote in 1966: "Wissowa's manual needs to be brought up to date and, with regard to its doctrine, corrected in large part. Nevertheless it remains the best; it has not been replaced". And in 1998 John Scheid labelled Wissowa's *Religion und Kultus* "the greatest ever handbook on Roman religion".[4]

Twenty years after Wissowa, Franz Altheim published his *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (1931–1933). Altheim explicitly acknowledged Wissowa

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[1] Wissowa 1912, viii.

[2] Wissowa 1912, 248 n. 3. For Wissowa's life and work cf. *FS* III, 1557–1566.

[3] *FS* III, 1564–1566.

[4] Dumezil 1970, 15 [orig. French 1966]; Scheid 2003a, 7 [orig. French 1998]. For the impact of Wissowa on modern scholarship see also the various articles on Wissowa's work in *Archiv f. Religionsgeschichte* 5 (2003): 1–211.

as his predecessor, stating that his own aim was merely "to assign to Roman religion its place in the historical development of Rome". He claimed that "it [i.e. a history of Roman religion] can only be understood as a part of a coherent whole, which, regarded from another standpoint, presents itself to us as the history of Roman literature, of Roman art, of Roman law, and which, like every history, has its focus in the history of the state". In fact, Altheim's book only shifted the emphasis from the systematic to the historical dimension by remaining faithfully Wissowian in terms of method (taking as a starting point, once again, a number of preconceived Varronian categories). Besides this, its emphasis on the 'history of the state', as is apparent from the passage just quoted, completely failed to consider a fundamental aspect of ancient Rome: society.

When Kurt Latte published his *Römische Religionsgeschichte* in the series *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* in 1960, it was intended to replace Wissowa's work. However, by fusing Wissowa's systematic description of Roman gods in the Varronian manner with Altheim's historical account, Latte produced a hybrid with a rather bewildering structure. Thus one would find chapters on Bona Dea and Sol and Luna, next to a chapter on the cult of personifications, followed by chapters on *lectisternia*, supplications and Secular Games, all this under the heading of 'new forms'.[5] In other words, Latte's approach, trying to be both systematic and historical at the same time, was found wanting on both accounts.

Before turning to reactions against the Wissowian and other approaches that depended on it, the work of Georges Dumézil must be mentioned. From the early 1940's on, Dumézil developed a new structural approach to Indo-European religious institutions and mythologies, claiming the existence of a tripartite structure of sovereignty, warrior force and economic prosperity. This interpretation, most elaborately represented in the 1958 book *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens*, has found no lasting support. Its basic methodological problem is the assumption that linguistic affinity (as demonstrated by an Indo-European provenience) leads to conceptual affinity (i.e. a tripartite structure), while its fundamental heuristic deficit is the lack or (at any rate) dearth of convincing mutually comparable tripartite structures. However, it is all too easy to overlook the fact that many of Dumézil's arguments operate independently

[5] Latte 1960, 228–248.

of his main thesis. To take an example pertinent to the topic of this book, Dumézil's excellent discussion of the difference between the two terms *deus* and *numen* and the conclusions drawn from it against Rose's notion of predeism in early Rome is still fundamentally valid.[6] Many of his source analyses are still unsurpassed and have influenced modern scholars such as Scheid much more profoundly than his contested theory of tripartite structures.[7]

The views of Wissowa and his successors were never seriously challenged until the last quarter of the twentieth century, when they came under heavy attack from 'new' historians and social scientists alike.

Historians started to question Wissowa's premise that whatever a flawed and arbitrary tradition may hide from us, a native contemporary Roman such as Varro would actually have known what Roman religion really looked like. A major exponent of these modern sceptics was John North. In his contribution to *CAH*[2] published in 1989,[8] he turned away from Varro, or any Varro for that matter, as an 'objective' source of Roman religion. He prefaced his contribution with the words: "The purpose of this introduction . . . is to challenge the validity of the 'established' versions of the 'history' of Roman religion and to show why any attempt at writing such a history would produce no more than another arbitrary synthesis". Any knowledge about Roman religion earlier than the Republic, including, of course, the 'knowledge' found in Varro's *Antiquitates*, was called into question by North, essentially for three reasons: 1. Varro himself would hardly have access to reliable information concerning the distant past, 2. we know about Varro mainly via mediating, and mostly biased, Christian sources, 3. any scholar, whether ancient or modern, would give only his personal account of Roman religion, even if he had (theoretically) all material available. True, all scholars since Wissowa had concerned themselves with the question of sources, but few, if any, up to then had called into question so vigorously the desirability (as opposed to the feasibility) of the reconstruction of a Varronian model.

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[6] Dumézil 1970, 18–31.
[7] Scheid 2001, 95–117; id. 2003a, 9–11.
[8] *CAH*[2], vii.2 (1989), 573–624.

Apart from the 'new' historians, the Wissowian model has of late been contested by scholars employing the methods of social sciences. Émile Durkheim, one of the earliest and most influential sociologists dealing with the social dimension of 'god', may be singled out to illustrate my point. It is a strange irony that in the same year, in which the second edition of Wissowa's *Religion und Kultus* appeared, Émile Durkheim published his last, and arguably most famous book, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*. For it was presumably this book more than any other that irrevocably pushed the aspect of *society* into the spotlight of the study of religion and thus turned directly against Wissowa's approach based on *Varronian categories*. A passage from Durkheim's work dealing with the notion of 'gods' is worth quoting in full: "Indeed, in the first instance, a god is a being whom man imagines superior to himself in some respects and on whom he thinks he depends. Whether this involves a sentient personality, like Zeus or Yahweh, or a play of abstract forces like those in totemism, the faithful in either case believe they are held to certain kinds of behavior imposed by the nature of the sacred principle with which they are engaged. Now, society also arouses in us the sensation of perpetual dependence. Because it has its own nature separate from ours as individuals, it pursues ends that are equally its own: but because it can reach them only through us, it imperiously commands our cooperation. Society requires us to become its servants, forgetting our own interests, and compels us to endure all sorts of hardships, privations, and sacrifice without which social life would be impossible. Thus we are constantly forced to submit to rules of thought and behavior that we have neither devised nor desired, and that are sometimes even contrary to our most basic inclinations and instincts." In his own words, Durkheim set out to show "something essentially social in religion".[9]

Whatever flaws scholars may have detected in Durkheim's totemistic approach, his decision to view religion—and more relevant to our topic, the nature of deities—from the viewpoint of society, rather than viewing society from the viewpoint of certain postulated categories (such as, e.g., Wissowa's Varronian terms), was shared by the mainstream of sociologists from Max Weber to Pierre Bourdieu and Jürgen Habermas.

In the field of Roman religion, the sociological approach did not gain momentum until the early 1990's. Two monographs of Jörg Rüpke

[9] Durkheim 2001, 154f., 318 [first French 1912].

paved the way for its broader acceptance.[10] Especially important for our context is his 1995 monograph on the Roman calendar, which is in many parts a study of the notion of time in Roman society. Since the concept of 'time' will be considered here as one of the constituent concepts of Roman 'gods', Rüpke's sociological approach is highly relevant to the contents of this book.

Apart from more theory-oriented scholars such as the aforementioned, some, among them most prominently John Scheid, followed a more conservative path (without falling back upon Wissowa). Scheid preferred (and still prefers) detailed philological research (he himself edited the *Acta Arvalium* and recently translated Augustus' *Memoirs*) to more theoretical approaches. Most relevant for the general outlook of this book is his *La religion des Romains*, originally published in 1998.[11] In chapter 9 Scheid tried to describe the general outlook of Roman gods, dealing not with individual gods, but with concepts of 'god' in general (though he does not use the word 'concept').

Arguably the most important publication in the field of Roman religion in the post-Wissowian era is the first volume of *Religions of Rome* (here quoted as *RoR*) by Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price, published in 1998. The book has the sub-title *A History*, as opposed to the second volume, *A Sourcebook*, which offers translations of the most important sources. Apart from its didactic virtues, the volume constitutes a landmark, because it attempts to take into account the new historical and sociological criticism of the preceding decades, as just outlined.

With regard to the new historical perspective, the book title of *RoR* speaks of "religions" in the plural. Thereby, the three authors intended to highlight two things: firstly, what was going on in the religious sphere was not to be perceived as a single set of concepts (i.e. a "religion") of which the participant could activate certain facets according to context (so Wissowa); there were numerous such sets of concepts (i.e. "religions"), that circulated at the same time and differed according to social, historical and individual context. Secondly, 'religions' in the plural meant, as already set out in North's magisterial contribution to *CAH*[2], that any interpreter of religious phenomena, whether Varro, Livy, Macrobius or a modern scholar, such as Wissowa, Altheim, Latte, or the authors of *RoR* themselves, would not just reconstruct his or her own version

[10] Rüpke 1990 and 1995.
[11] Here quoted in the English translation as Scheid 2003a.

of an 'originally' single set of concepts, but different sets of concepts, again according to the contexts in which he or she wrote and lived. By questioning both the desirability and feasibility of a single, 'accurate' description of Roman religion the British authors essentially pulled the rug from under Wissowa's approach.

With regard to the societal perspective of *RoR*, the shift of emphasis as compared to Wissowa, Altheim, Latte and others is made strikingly clear for instance by the fact that *RoR* dedicates a rather small section to Roman deities, and this section is programmatically called 'Gods and goddesses in the life of Rome'. While Wissowa and his followers had paid excessive attention to individual deities and made them the backbone of their analysis in an unmistakably Varronian manner, *RoR* dealt with the issue briefly and in connection with the Roman lifeworld, i.e. social reality.[12]

* * *

Where does this labyrinth of partly intertwined, partly mutually contradicting approaches leave the present book?

It should be said right at the outset that the book is written on the premise that there is no exact correlation between words (such as god, *deus*) and concepts. Rather, I hold that underlying concepts frequently develop in various directions, while the actual linguistic terms used for these concepts remain unaltered. This insight is not new. For instance, the authors of *RoR* are careful to point out that "the paradox is that some of the biggest changes in Roman religion lurk behind the most striking examples of outward continuity, behind exactly the same phrases repeated in wildly different contexts."[13] In our specific case, this means that the Latin *deus* does denote *different* concepts according to context, and also that other Latin terms (such as *numen* or *divus*) can take its place. I am thus concerned with clusters of concepts that would *normally* be addressed as '*deus*', but I will not limit myself to Latin terminology in the Varronian manner.

This book attempts a *descriptive* approach to *historical* evidence. As a consequence of its descriptive nature and limitation to the historical material, it will completely ignore (outdated) evolutionary theories of Roman religion that are predominantly concerned with Roman

[12] *RoR* I, 30–40.
[13] *RoR* I, xii.

prehistory or the development from the prehistorical to the historical age (Frazer, Mannhardt etc.). In other words, its aim is to set out the conceptual boundaries of the term 'god' in a systematic fashion, which can be verified by historical and archaeological data, without actually trying to establish under what circumstances and in what historical sequence these boundaries came to pass or were violated in turn. It may be noted, though, that all too often these boundaries (and their violation) seem to me to be arbitrary and subject to unpredictable contingencies rather than following a certain rule (as postulated by the theories just mentioned). Still, the boundaries, I believe, are there and can be located as such with precision.

I propose to analyze the concept of 'god' by looking into the constituent concepts from which it is formed. I single out six: space, time, personnel, function, iconography and ritual. Of course, there may be others, but these six seem to me to be the most important. It is a working assumption (which I intend to prove in the course of the book) that whatever changes the concept of 'god' acquires in the course of time, these changes manifest themselves in its constituent concepts. So when we speak of a transformation of the concept of 'god'/'*deus*', we actually mean a change in one or more of its constituent concepts.

While the first section of the book ('Constituent Concepts') is thus concerned with an analysis of the concept of 'god' in terms of the six constituent concepts, the second part ('Conceptualization') will describe the reverse process, i.e. the formation of the concept of 'god' *from* the constituent concepts and its dissolution. The third part ('A Test Case: The Secular Games of 17 B.C.') will attempt to apply the conceptual approach to a specific and well attested historical event. Finally, the last chapter ('Concepts and Society') endeavours to relate the concept of 'god' to various groups of Roman society.

There are already numerous studies on individual gods, more often than not employing the six constituent categories of concepts of this book in one way or another in order to highlight the individual traits of a specific deity. Such studies tend to throw into high relief the nature(s) and development of the specific deity and its differences from other deities in the pantheon. As far as the more general concept of 'god' is concerned, it seems to have been considered more or less unproblematic by modern scholarship. For instance, most scholars would not hesitate to count the so-called 'functional gods' among the category of 'gods', although the latter may often have much less in common with the greater gods than, say, a semi-divine figure such as Aeneas (who

however, is normally dealt with under the rubric of 'heroes'). Only in those relatively rare instances in which the concept of 'god' patently overlaps with other concepts (such as that of 'human being', 'demon', 'fetish' etc.), do scholars appear eager to define the meaning of each of these concepts more accurately. This book attempts to remedy this lack of eagerness. Its ambition is to fill a gap that appears to have existed already in Wissowa's seminal work (which took for granted the meaning of the concept of 'god') and was from there bequeathed to the modern approaches of 'new historians' and 'sociologists' alike.

As for the structure of this book, it should be said that the idea of six constituent concepts was inspired by Scheid's analysis of Roman religion in his *La religion des Romains*.[14] Those who consult the latter's table of contents will realize that its central chapters 4–9 deal with what I will here call 'constituent concepts'. Our differences lie in the fact that I restrict myself to the single concept of 'god', not the much broader concept of 'Roman religion', and that I add 'functions' and 'iconography' as new constituent concepts.

[14] Scheid 2003a.

CHAPTER ONE

CONSTITUENT CONCEPTS

1. *Space*

Since they were conceptualized as human beings, Roman gods had a place in this world, in which they moved freely. This conclusion is unavoidable, if we consider that all Roman gods could be invoked, and that invocation implied spatial proximity to the invocator.[1] Apart from this, at least the major gods were conceptualized as connected to specific locations, normally marked as such by an altar, a temple, or in some other way. These locations I will call 'spatial foci'. They are mostly represented by archaeological remains. However, by relying on archaeology, we unduly overemphasize the spatiality of major official divine concepts, which were more likely than private cults to be permanently conceptualized by specifically marked space.

The sacred landscape of Rome was complex, time-bound and notoriously anachronistic. It was complex because its parameters were not absolute and necessarily recognizable as such. Rather, it was intrinsically relative and existent only within the full semiotic system of the topography of the city. Furthermore, it was time-bound, because the city itself developed rapidly, especially during the peak of urbanization from *ca.* 200 B.C.–200 A.D. It was notoriously anachronistic because the semiotic system underlying it was highly conservative and did not keep pace with the actual urban development (for instance, the *pomerium* was still remembered, when it had long become obsolete in the imperial period in terms of urban development; and the festival of the *Septimontium* was still celebrated separately by the communities that had long since merged into the city of Rome).

It is not always easy to pin down the relation to space of divine concepts in so inconsistent and fluid a semiotic environment. The allocation of specific space to a divine concept was determined by mutually

[1] Scheid 2003a, 147: "The Romans, like the Greeks, accepted the fundamental principle that the gods lived in the world alongside men and strove with them, in a civic context, to bring about the common good."

competing factors such as the status and motives of the founder of the cult, the availability of and historical connection with a specific place, the money to be invested, the function of the god, general religious restrictions imposed by parameters such as the *pomerium* and other regulations of the augural law, etc. This daunting plethora of factors makes it easy to overlook the fact that one element is common to public cults (and is often adopted in the private sphere too): the architectural language of space. For it is scarcely self-evident that the large variety of divine concepts in the city was marked by more or less the same architectural forms, in one way or another already present in the most important spatial focus of pagan divine concepts ever created in Rome, i.e. the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol. One may argue that in the case of altars, the margin for variation was narrow due to the simplicity of the architectural type. However, this explanation cannot hold true of the temple, which was anything but a simple structure. Characterized by a frontal colonnade on a podium to be reached over a stairway and supporting a triangular pediment, which was normally adorned with some sort of sculpture or other decoration, its homogeneous appearance was not intended to express the differences among the various divine concepts worshipped in it, but to set it off from profane architecture.[2] In terms of architectural forms, then, all public cults were essentially equal and clearly marked off from the various building-types of human beings. Given this basic dichotomy, the actual architectural forms in each category could differ, i.e. each architectural detail could be modified or substituted for another, as long as the remaining details sufficed to provide the relevant spatial concept of either profane or divine architecture. The fact that, architecturally speaking, the dividing line did not run between individual gods, but between human beings and gods, explains the public outcry when Caesar erected a pediment, characteristic of divine spatial concepts, over the façade of his private residence.[3] By doing so, he in fact challenged this dichotomy, in order to underpin his super-human claims.

The more important a divine concept was felt to be, the more firmly it was grounded in the sacred landscape of the city. Gods that represented only a slight or no specific local affiliation were notoriously ephemeral

[2] For the general layout of Roman cult places see Scheid 2003a, 66–73; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2007, 209f., for Roman temples in particular see Stamper 2005.

[3] Weinstock 1971, 276–281, esp. 280f.

and specialized. Most striking is the group of 'functional' gods, who, as their name indicates, were predominantly conceptualized on the basis of function. They rarely received official recognition in urban topography, i.e. a spatial focus, or in the calendar, i.e. a temporal focus. Nor were they characterized by particular rituals or a specific iconography. Another case in point is a number of antiquated deities, kept alive by pontifical tradition, though virtually forgotten by the people due to the fact that they were no longer present in urban topography. One may refer to the goddess Fur(r)ina: Varro mentions the goddess and her priest in connection with the festival of the *Fur(r)inalia* (July 25). But he also acknowledged that, in his day, the name of the deity was hardly known to anyone.[4] A further case is that of Falacer, of whom virtually nothing is known apart from the existence of his *flamen*.[5]

It is of specific relevance to the formation of 'gods' by spatial foci to note that during the Republican period, augurally constituted space, such as a cella of a public temple, could typically be dedicated to just one deity at a time.[6] The exact process of constituting augural space is thereby somewhat obscure, because the knowledge of the augural discipline was jealously guarded by the augurs themselves and passed on only by oral transmission.[7]

* * *

In the pagan world, the cult statue of a specific god (meaning: the iconographic focus of a specific cult) was directly linked to the spatial focus of the god. In other words, no cult statue could function as such independently of or outside the spatial context in which it was placed.

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[4] Varro *ling.* 5.84, 6.19; Degrassi 1963, 487.

[5] Varro *ling.* 5.84, 7.45.

[6] In 208 B.C. the pontifices prevented M. Claudius Marcellus from dedicating a temple with one cella to two deities (*Honos, Virtus*) on the grounds that if expiation after lightning or some other portent became necessary, it would be impossible to ascertain to which of the two deities an expiatory sacrifice should be offered (Liv. 27.25.7–10). Dumézil 1970, 399 interpreted the passage in the sense that the reason for the pontifical intervention was the lack of distinctive functional domains of the two gods, though this is not what Livy says. Furthermore, the passage has been explained by the conflict of Marcellus with the Scipiones (D. Palombi, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 31). But it is highly unlikely that the pontifical line of argument (which, as a matter of fact, only required the erection of a second cella and did not exclude the dedication itself) was therefore unfounded. Perhaps the pontiffs felt scruples about the building of one temple, when Marcellus had actually vowed two (Clark 2007, 68f.). But if so, it is not clear why Livy did not say so.

[7] Paul. Fest. 14.30–15.5 [L]; Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 99 [287D–E]; Cic. *de domo* 39.

Sylvia Estienne pointed out after an investigation of such potentially 'isolated' cult statues that "it is not so much the statue that makes the cult place, but rather the place itself that marks the statue as a cult object."[8] The two concepts of place and statue are linked up to form the new concept of 'cult place', with 'place' being the dominating factor. Its dominance is due to its lack of ambiguity: divine space, normally marked unequivocally by some sort of architecture, could scarcely be taken for something else, whereas a statue could always be seen as mere decoration.

The principle of spatiality is widely applied elsewhere too. The proximity of a statue to the spatial focus of a cult was an indicator of the degree to which it was intended to serve as an iconographic focus of the cult. For instance, Caesar placed an image of Cleopatra next to the cult image of Venus Genetrix, because he wanted to assimilate his mistress to the goddess.[9] In the same vein he placed a statue of himself in the temple of Quirinus (and that meant no doubt next to the cult image), adding the inscription "to the invincible god".[10] On the other hand, when Agrippa intended to place a statue of Augustus in the newly erected Pantheon in 25 B.C., the emperor rejected the honour. Agrippa, in turn, set up a statue of Caesar instead, while statues of the emperor and himself were erected in the ante-room of the building.[11] The message was plain: while Caesar had already gained divinity and hence was entitled to associate with the gods directly in the "holiest", innermost part of the sanctuary, Augustus and Agrippa were still human and therefore to be located in the periphery of the "holy" center.[12] Meanwhile, low-profile Tiberius accepted the erection of his statues in temples on the condition that they were placed not among the cult images of the gods, but in the temple decoration (*inter ornamenta aedium*).[13] Fine examples of the deliberate juxtaposition of representations of historical persons and spatial foci of a god are the two altars of *Mercy* and *Friendship*, flanked by statues of Tiberius and Seianus, following a senatorial decision in 28 A.D.[14] According to contemporary sources, it was a mark of restraint that only two bronze

[8] Estienne 1997, 96, cf. Gladigow 1994, 9–11.
[9] App. *B.C.* 2.102 with Fishwick I, 79.
[10] Dio 43.45.3 with Fishwick I, 58, 60f.
[11] Dio 53.27.3; cf. 54.1.1.
[12] Scheid 1995, 424–427.
[13] Suet. *Tib.* 26.1.
[14] Tac. *ann.* 4.74.

statues of Trajan (in contrast to the large number of Domitian's effigies) were erected in the Capitoline area, and more importantly, not in the cella, but in the vestibule.[15] The underlying principle of spatiality is ominipresent: the closer to the divine in spatial terms, the more divine in conceptual terms.

* * *

In augural thinking, the border of the city was not the city wall (which was built according to strategic considerations) but rather an augurally defined strip of land which surrounded the city and was referred to as the *pomerium*. It formed the limit of the augural 'map' (*auspicia urbana*). Essentially, this line did not differ from the border line of any inaugurated place, which means that its exact course had to be clearly visible: in other words, no buildings were supposed to be built on or directly next to it.[16] The earliest *pomerium* included the Palatine and not much more.[17] According to tradition, Titus Tatius later added the Forum and the Capitol, while Servius Tullius included the Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline.[18] Sources report further modifications from Sulla's time onwards.[19] Surprisingly, the Aventine was excluded from the *pomerium*, at least until the first century A.D., when it had in any case lost all religious significance.[20]

The long-standing view that foreign cults, when introduced to Rome, were given a place outside the *pomerium* during the Republic has been challenged by Ziolkowski, who has argued that the prime parameter in choosing the location for a temple was the availability of suitable space regardless of the *pomerium* line. Ziolkowski showed that the traditional 'Roman' gods occupied the more central areas in urban topography from prehistoric times, while the lack of space resulting from the increasing urbanization led to the accommodation of new gods in the

[15] Plin. *pan.* 52.3.

[16] Liv. 1.44.4; Varro *ling* 5.143; Gell. 13.14.1; Catalano 1960, 292–304; M. Andreussi, in: *LTUR* IV (1999), 96–105.

[17] Tac. *ann.* 12.24, cf. Gell. 13.14.2; Plu. *Rom.* 11.3–5 with Coarelli 1983, 262–264; Cecamore 2002, 53–57.

[18] Tac. *ann.* 12.24; Liv. 1.44.3; Gell. 13.14.4.

[19] For the Republican period, alterations are attested under Sulla (Sen. *dial.* 10.13.8; Tac. *ann.* 12.23; Gell. 13.14.4; Dio Cass. 43.50.1), Caesar (Tac. *ann.* 12.23; Gell. 13.14.4; Dio Cass. 43.50.1) and Augustus (Tac. *ann.* 12.23). Later on, changes are recorded under Claudius, Vespasian and Hadrian.

[20] Taliaferro Boatwright 1984–1985, 38.

periphery of the existing settlements.[21] On occasion, the actual sphere of competences of a specific deity may have determined the choice of location, as Vitruvius claimed.[22] For instance, the extra-pomerial location of healing gods, such as Apollo in the Campus Martius and Aesculapius on the Island in the Tiber, could be interpreted as an attempt to avert from the old city diseases that had been associated with these deities. Furthermore, the two healing gods were situated not only outside the *pomerium*, but virtually next to each other, with the temple of Aesculapius separated from the temple of Apollo by the Tiber.[23] But again, in his stress on the importance of divine functions concerning the distribution of sanctuaries Vitruvius is at least partly contradicted by Roman evidence.[24]

Interestingly, Vitruvius regards the city wall—not the *pomerium*—as the basic topographical demarcation line.[25] His claim is supported by the fact that cults of some of the oldest and most prominent Roman gods such as Iuppiter Elicius, Ceres, Diana and Iuno Regina[26] were situated outside the *pomerium*, that is to say, on or next to the Aventine hill, though inside the city walls (which included the hill as early as the archaic period).[27] Again, one should not overstress the importance of the city wall in these contexts, but it would seem only natural that cults essential to the religious functioning and well-being of the city (Iuppiter Elicius, Ceres, Diana) should be situated within the walls, if only for reasons of control and protection.

* * *

The most important god of Roman public life over the centuries was undoubtedly Iuppiter. When the Romans conceptualized this divine form, they conceptualized it as locally bound to a number of places in the city. The most important spatial focus of the cult of the god was the temple area on the Capitol. It was not only the size of the area,

[21] Ziolkowski 1992, 266–279, endorsed e.g. by Versluys 2004, 440f. Scheid 2003a, 62f. is undecided.

[22] Vitr. 1.7.1f.

[23] For other reasons proposed by scholars cf. Degrassi 1986, 146f. The sanctuary of Aesculapius at Fregellae was almost certainly outside the actual city area, as were other Asklepieia, cf. Degrassi 1986, 150f.

[24] Ziolkowski 1992, 265f.

[25] Vitr. 1.7.1 speaks repeatedly of *moenia* and on one occasion of *muri*.

[26] For other cults see G. De Spirito, in: *LTUR* I (1993), 149.

[27] For the course of the archaic wall see Carandini 1997, 623–627 and pl. 33.

but also the architecture of the temple itself and the rich offerings displayed around it that rendered its spatial position paramount, not only among all Jovian temples, but in general among all sacred areas in the city. Besides this, its geographical position—set high above the Forum Romanum to the east and the commercial markets (Forum Holitorium and Forum Boarium) to the south—highlights the spatial focus of Jovian worship in comparison to the spatial foci of other gods. But Jovian worship did not focus only on the sanctuary of the Capitoline triad, but also on the entire Capitoline hill. It is not by chance that we find an impressive number of other Jovian sanctuaries in the area.[28] They were placed as close as possible to their source of power.

While the reason for the location of the oldest form of Iuppiter on the Capitoline, that of Iuppiter Feretrius, is unknown (though well in line with the general tendency to worship Iuppiter on hill tops), it is likely that the location of the temple dedicated to Iuppiter, Iuno and Minerva was a secondary choice. The triad was also worshipped on the Quirinal (*Capitolium Vetus*).[29] Since the appearance of the same triad at two places cannot be coincidence, one has to conclude that it was deliberately transferred, or better still (since the Capitolium Vetus still appears in the Regional Catalogues of the fourth century A.D.), duplicated on the Capitol or *vice versa* on the Quirinal. If the Quirinal triad was the earlier one (but there is so far no way to prove this), the reason for this duplication may have been a deliberate act of political instrumentalization of the Quirinal triad. While the various autonomous settlements in the area were gradually synoecizing, a political and economical centre emerged around the Capitoline area in the seventh century. Naturally, the god that came to embody the idea of this centralized urban structure had to be located at its very center. In brief, if my assumption of the priority of the Quirinal triad is correct, the location of the Capitoline triad was dictated by, and resulted from, political conditions.

Indeed, piety played at most a minor role in duplicating a specific cult outside its original spatial setting. We need only refer to the two known spatial foci of the cult of Quirinus. The no doubt older one was situated

[28] See chapter II.3.
[29] F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* I (1993), 234.

on his hill, the Quirinal, while the other, the 'doublet', was to be found in the political centre, i.e. in the Forum.[30] The same may be said of the cult of Isis. Epigraphical evidence suggests that Isis was linked to a specific place on the Capitoline from the middle of the first century B.C. at the latest (see below). This Capitoline cult appears to have been 'duplicated' in the so-called Iseum Metellinum.[31] It is tempting to follow Coarelli in suggesting that this Iseum belonged to the first half of the first century B.C. (rather than to the imperial period, as commonly suggested) and to regard Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (cos. 80 B.C., died 64/63 B.C.) as its founder. It was erected, according to Coarelli, in order to celebrate the military achievements of Metellus' father, Metellus Numidicus, in the war against Jugurtha.[32] Even if this reconstruction of events is hypothetical, the very characterization of the Iseum as *Metellinum* suggests a political reason, i.e. the (self-) promotion of the family of the Metelli, for its erection. In the same vein, we may point to the countless doublets of the Capitoline temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus in the market places of Roman colonies at later times. Their location in the political centre of their cities was clearly a means of political propaganda: were it otherwise, we would wonder why such Capitolia were only very exceptionally situated away from the political centres of the relevant cities.[33]

Space was also a constituent concept of 'unofficial' gods and their cults, such as that of Bacchus at the beginning of the second century B.C. Here, it is the Aventine hill that was particularly connected with the cult of the god, perhaps originally as an unofficial offshoot of the cult of Liber, who was worshipped there as part of the Aventine triad from the beginning of the fifth century B.C. at the latest. It was in the vicinity of the Aventine, i.e. outside the *pomerium*, that the grove of Stimula (= Semele), with a shrine (*sacrarium*) dedicated to the goddess or her divine son (or possibly both), was located.[34] It is telling that contentious divine concepts such as that of Semele could be derived from official gods such as the Aventine triad by the principle of spatiality, i.e. by positioning their cultural centre in close local proximity. In a sense,

[30] Curti 2000, 88–90.

[31] Hist. Aug. *trig. tyr.* 25.

[32] Coarelli 1982, 53–57; cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 182f.

[33] See Steuernagel 1999, 177–179 for such an off-centered position of the Capitolium in Puteoli (if his identification with the temple of Augustus is correct).

[34] Liv. 39.12.4, 39.16.2, *schol. Iuv.* 2.3 with F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* IV (1999), 378. For the identification of Stimula and Semele see Turcan 2003, 5f.

the cult of Semele was just the 'other', 'dark' side of the Aventine triad, which was located virtually next door to her.

In terms of spatial setting, recently imported deities in Rome, with the exception of the Christian god, followed the same pattern as the traditional gods. Most of all, they were linked to specially established areas. Apparently, the first spatial focus of the cult of the Egyptian Isis was situated on the Capitoline. It is of little significance whether shrines or altars were erected there[35] or, for that matter, a temple in her name.[36] Epigraphic evidence dating from the mid-first century B.C. at the latest attests to the existence of priests of Isis Capitolina. Given that this form of Isis (with the epithet 'Capitolina') is locally bound, it is obvious that there was a spatial focus of the cult of the goddess on the Capitol with a priest conducting the cult.[37] Considering the repeated expulsions of the goddess from inside the *pomerium*,[38] and, during the first century B.C., explicitly from the Capitol region, it is also clear that the cult began on the Capitol as a private foundation, i.e. it was situated on private property. This dovetails with the fact that in the middle of the first century B.C., some areas of the Capitol were in private hands.[39] Considering the private nature of the cult, one should note that the location of this precinct—adjacent to the highest state god and situated above the old city centre—is both a rare and an expensive privilege. This suggests that some of its adherents were of financial ease. Perhaps in the wake of repeated expulsions of Isis from the city area, the goddess was eventually relegated to a new precinct in the Campus Martius during the final years of the first century B.C. (Isis Campensis).[40]

If we turn to imperial worship, a slightly different picture emerges. On the one hand, the appearance of the emperor in various spatial settings was modelled on that of the traditional gods; while on the other, due to a certain reluctance to display the emperor's divinity in

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[35] Versluys 2004.
[36] F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 110f.
[37] Versluys 2004, 426f., cf. ibid. 429.
[38] For references see Versluys 2004, 427–430.
[39] Versluys 2004, 433.
[40] F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 107 suggests 43 B.C. as a foundation date on the basis of Dio 47.15.4; Lembke (1994, 67), Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2000, 175), Versluys (2004, 446f.) and others prefer a date somewhere between 20 and 10 B.C. or even later. It is possible that the cult statue of the temple, recommissioned after its destruction in a fire in 80 A.D., has survived, Malaise 1972, 202 no. 384; F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 109.

the capital, these places functioned only indirectly as spatial foci. The most important indication of such 'indirect' focalization is the absence of a temple. This situation changed at the moment of the emperor's death, when as a rule a temple was erected in his name.

'Indirect' spatial focalization can be illustrated by the worship of Augustus at the crossroads: shortly before 7 B.C., Augustus reorganized the administrative map of the metropolis by dividing it into 4 regions (*regiones*) and 265 residential districts (*vici*). In each district the emperor established one or more shrines (*compita*) at which the Lares of the imperial house, that is to say the Lares Augusti, were worshipped (the worship of his own *genius* is likely, but less certain). In doing so, Augustus spectacularly modified the age-old cult of the Lares Compitales who were traditionally worshipped at the crossroads and had their own festival, the *Compitalia* or *Laralia*. Given the numerous districts and the possibility that more than a single shrine was erected in each, there can be little doubt that the Augustan Lares were, from now on, present in this new—divine—context throughout Rome.[41] Nor was it by chance that the emperor himself paid for the expenses of the new cult statues and possibly the altars.[42]

While Augustus and his successors remained fond of such assimilation, they were disinclined towards direct identification with the divine in Rome during their own lifetime. In a passage already mentioned, Augustus rejected the erection of his statue in the main room of the Pantheon and its name *Augusteum*. Instead, his effigy was set up in the ante-chamber of the building (while a statue of Caesar was placed in the main room).[43] In a similar vein, Augustus dedicated a temple to Apollo next to his Palatine residence in 28 B.C. This location automatically led to a conceptual assimilation of the princeps to the very god he had chosen as his tutelary deity. No wonder then that the temple was to operate as a focal point of Augustan propaganda, both culturally (with a library of Greek and Roman authors attached to it), politically (with its central role during the Secular Games in 17 B.C. and senatorial meetings convened in it) and religiously (with the Sibylline books stored in it).[44] In spatial terms, the temple was connected to Augustus' residence via private corridors, so that the princeps could approach the

[41] Kienast 1999, 127, 196f.; Gradel 2002, 116–139; Lott 2004, 106–117.
[42] Degrassi 1947, 285 with Kienast 1999, 197, 255.
[43] Dio 53.27.2–4, cf. above in this chapter.
[44] Kienast 1999, 230–236; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2007, 214–218.

god without stepping out in the open.[45] In other words, "the princeps not only lived next to, but close to and together with his tutelary deity."[46] Spatial proximity here as elsewhere suggested conceptual similarity, fully in line with the principle of spatiality. Even more importantly, the motivation of this assimilation to the divine is apparent: an implicit super-human outlook of the ruler could only serve to underpin his power-position within the state. But Augustus, having learned his lesson from Caesar's assassination, was cautious enough not to provoke stout Republicans by turning assimilation into identification.

While there was no explicit spatial focus for the divine concept of Augustus in the capital during his lifetime, after his death he was honoured with the erection of two major sanctuaries in Rome. A *sacrarium* on the Palatine was consecrated in the early 30's A.D. and later transformed into a *templum* under Claudius.[47] Additionally, the temple of Divus Augustus, vowed by the senate in 14 A.D. on the precedent of the temple of Divus Iulius, was inaugurated as late as 37 A.D. under Caligula.[48] Throughout Italy, a number of similar Augustea are attested, some of them doubtless already erected during the emperor's lifetime.[49]

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One of the reasons for the paramount importance of spatial foci in conceptualizing a Roman god was their relative continuity and exclusiveness. By continuity, I mean the fact that once a place was consecrated to a deity, it normally remained in its possession; by exclusiveness, that it remained *exclusively* in its possession. These principles were in force at least as long as the augural discipline was observed.

Earlier in the Republic, however, spatial foci of gods were not always irrevocably fixed. For instance, an existing spatial focus could be cleared by summoning a deity therefrom and relegating it to another location (*exauguratio*). When the Capitoline temple was built, a number of gods had to be exaugurated. However, Terminus and Iuventus (some sources also include Mars) resisted and were integrated into the new sanctuary

[45] P. Gros, in: *LTUR* I (1993), 56f.
[46] Zanker 1983, 23.
[47] M. Torelli, in: *LTUR* I (1993), 143–145.
[48] Fishwick I, 161; M. Torelli, in: *LTUR* I (1993), 145f.
[49] Gradel 2002, 80–84.

of Iuppiter.[50] In practical terms, the reluctance to relocate Terminus may well have been due to his functional focus as the god of 'boundaries', but function was hardly a reason for preserving the spatial focus of the worship of Iuventus (or Mars, if indeed he was involved) on this spot. Possibly, we have to include Summanus in the group of gods that could not be summoned from the Capitol.[51]

Under certain conditions a god could 'trespass' on ground consecrated to another god. One may refer, for instance, to the building of temple B (Temple of *Fortuna huiusce diei*, built at the end of the second century B.C.) in the same area as temple C (Temple of Iuturna[?], built in the mid-third century B.C.) in the sacred area of Largo Argentina.[52] Furthermore, we know that Cn. Flavius dedicated a temple of Concordia in the Volcanal (*in area Vulcani*) at the end of the fourth century B.C.[53] Unfortunately, in neither of the above cases is there clear evidence for the exact nature of the 'overlap' of spatial foci of the gods in question.

A complete abolition of a spatial focus is possible, though rare (unless the cult was officially banned, as in the case of the *Bacchanalia*). Cicero did actually achieve the demolition of the sanctuary of Libertas in 57 B.C. It had been erected on his private precincts by Clodius a year earlier, but had been consecrated in violation of pontifical law.[54] The temple of Pietas, built and dedicated to the goddess at the beginning of the second century B.C., was apparently torn down in 44 B.C., when a theatre (the later Theatre of Marcellus) was erected on the same site.[55] Whether these deities received sanctuaries located elsewhere is unknown. However, it is rather unlikely, as they are never mentioned again. Besides this, they had been established on rather flimsy political grounds and for personal reasons in the first place.

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The vast majority of spatial foci of Roman cults were undeniably stable and relatively exclusive. If we concentrate on these, there is an obvious interaction between spatial and functional foci. Indeed, three

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[50] Cato ap. Fest. 160.10–12 [L] [Terminus]; Varro *ant.* fr. 40f. [Cardauns; Mars, Iuventus, Terminus] with commentary.
[51] See chapter I.4.
[52] Ziolkowski 1986, 630.
[53] Liv. 9.46.6 with A. M. Ferroni, in: *LTUR* I (1993), 320f.
[54] Clark 2007, 209–212.
[55] P. Ciancio Rossetto, in: *LTUR* IV (1999), 86.

categories may be distinguished here: first, gods with related functional foci and worshipped in distinct sanctuaries. Secondly, gods with related functional foci and worshipped in distinct cellae within the same sanctuary or (ignoring the augural discipline) in the same cella but in the form of different cult statues. And thirdly, gods with related functional foci that had merged to such a degree that they were worshipped as a single god in the form of a single cult statue rather than as distinct deities. In this order, the three categories represent an increasing degree of assimilation.

1. Distinct temples would normally suggest a less direct relationship of the gods in question. Such a relationship is therefore often hard to prove. It is obvious in cases where functional foci had led to hypostasization, for instance where a temple dedicated to a hypostasis of a major god was built in the vicinity of a temple of his/her 'parent' god (hyperstasis).[56] Turning to the worship of distinct gods, two examples should at least be mentioned: Apollo the 'healer' had his temple on the bank of the Tiber. It was situated virtually opposite the temple of Aesculapius (himself a healing god of paramount importance and located on the Island in the Tiber). Also, a sanctuary of Carmenta, a goddess of birth and fertility, was situated next to the temple of Mater Matuta, a goddess of matrons, both buildings being located at the foot of the Capitol. Possibly, the two temples complemented each other also in ritual terms.[57]

2. The second category, i.e. distinct gods with related functional foci and housed in the same cella/temple, is much better attested. It is worth noting that in this category the functional relationship might often be expressed by fictitious links of divine kinship, adopted from—or at least modelled on—Greek concepts. I will restrict myself to the most striking case, the Capitoline triad. The combination of Iuppiter and Iuno is clearly influenced by the functional foci of the Greek couple, Zeus and Hera. Minerva, i.e. Greek Athena (Polias), as daughter of Iuppiter and—according to Greek thinking—protectress of cities *par excellence*, is

[56] See chapter II.3.

[57] The myth as recounted by Ov. *fast.* 6.529–548 connects the two. Besides this, both temples are located virtually next to each other, despite the fact that the archaic city wall presumably separated the two (as did the later, so-called 'Servian' wall; for the topography cf. Champeaux 1982, 316f.; Coarelli 1988, 241; Carandini 1997, pl. xxxiii with p. 627).

hardly surprising within this group of tutelary gods.[58] This is not to say that the triad as such originated from Greece, but that it was motivated by the interaction of functional foci of Greek gods, whatever the routes from which they arrived in Rome, and whatever the Romans eventually understood these Greek concepts to represent. Wissowa's argument is still valid: had the triad merely been adopted from a Greek environment, one would expect its cult to be under the control of the *II/X/XVviri sacris faciundis*. However, this was not the case.[59]

A special case of divine groups that were based on complementarity of functional foci, and whose cult statues were housed next or very close to each other, were gods accompanied by their so-called divine 'consorts'. For where complementary functional foci were sex-related and could not easily be brought into line with the existing sex-related foci of a deity, they could be subsumed under the cult of an 'auxiliary' deity of the other sex, which was then normally worshipped as a 'consort'. It was not unusual for such 'consorts' to gain considerable independence over time. For example, Sarapis received increased popularity after the ascent of his even more popular female companion Isis in the first century A.D. He became virtually her match from the second century A.D. on. Similarly, one may cite Attis, the consort of Magna Mater, whose worship boomed in the Middle Empire. Their joint cult dates back to the Republican period, but became conspicuous only from the first century A.D. onwards.[60]

Another noteworthy incident of the influence of functional complementarity on the spatial setting of gods is the joint spatial conceptu-

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[58] For this notion of Minerva in the triad as Athena Polias see e.g. Graf 2001, 130–132. DServ. *Aen.* 1.422 claims that according to the Etruscan discipline no city could be founded "legally" (*iustas urbes*), in which there were not three gates, streets and three temples, i.e. temples of Iuppiter, Iuno and Minerva. This slightly obscure information may be, at least as far as the temples are concerned, a projection of Roman conditions on to the Etruscan past. However, Etruscan examples of a Capitoline triad are lacking so far, and, at any rate, DServius is speaking of temples in the plural and thus not necessarily suggesting a cult community at all (cf. Banti 1943, 203–210; Pfiffig 1975, 33f.).

[59] See Wissowa 1912, 41, who suggested Etruria as the most likely source. The triad is mentioned by Paus. 10.5.2 in a provincial sanctuary in Phokis. The iconography of the group mentioned there is similar to that of the Capitoline group, with Zeus seated and Hera and Athena standing next to him. Pausanias does not give a date for the group or temple. However, given the well-documented impact of the Roman triad on the panthea of other cities as well as the apparent insignificance of the Phocan sanctuary, the influence of Rome on the latter is much more likely than the contrary argument.

[60] For both Sarapis and Attis see chapter II.1.

alization of divinized emperors. Until the end of the second century A.D., the divinity of the deceased emperor was regularly marked by a temple. But with the number of Divi increasing and available urban space dramatically shrinking, it became expedient to restrict the number of spatial foci of the imperial cult. As a consequence, cult statues of the Divi were more and more placed at existing spatial foci (*aedes, templa, porticus*) of earlier Divi such as that of Divus Augustus on the Palatine or Divus Titus in the Campus Martius.[61]

3. We have a small number of examples of the third category, the complete merger of spatial, functional and other conceptual foci of two gods. A case in point is *Semo Sancus Dius Fidius*.[62] The latter is a composite divine name originally representing two independent deities, Semo Sancus and Dius Fidius. It was to Dius Fidius alone that a temple on the Quirinal was initially dedicated in the first half of the fifth century B.C., as borne out by the oldest written evidence.[63] Thus one can accomodate more easily the information that the temple was allegedly built by Tarquinius Superbus (and consecrated by Spurius Postumius in 466 B.C.),[64] while the transfer of Sancus from Sabine territory to Rome was traditionally associated with the Sabine king Titus Tatius.[65] The hypaethral shape of the Quirinal temple,[66] too, could well support a dedication to Dius Fidius, the god of oaths *par excellence*, alone, for according to Cato, it was forbidden to take an oath to the god under a roof.[67] However, Semo Sancus, a god connected with lightning, would potentially be a strong candidate for a hypaethral temple as well. The fact is that in the classical period it was no longer clear which of the two deities should be addressed on the anniversary of the temple (June 5).[68]

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[61] Wissowa 1912, 346f.; Pekáry 1985, 92; M. Torelli and F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 19f. [s.vv. *divorum, aedes; divorum, porticus, templum*].

[62] In inscriptions *Dius* appears as *Deus: CIL* VI 30994 *Semoni Sanco Sancto deo Fidio*; cf. ibid. 567 *Semoni Sanco deo Fidio*; 568 *Sanco Sancto Semon* (sic) *deo Fidio*; 30995 *Sanco Deo Fidio*.

[63] Varro *ling.* 5.52 (catalogue of the sacrifices of the Argei); Dion. Hal. *ant.* 9.60.8; cf. F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* IV (1999), 263f.; the calendar entries on June 5, the anniversary of the temple, refer only to Dius Fidius (Degrassi 1963, 465).

[64] Dion. Hal. *ant.* 9.60.8.

[65] Tert. *adv. nat.* 2.9.23.

[66] Varro *ling.* 5.66.

[67] Cato ap. Non. 793 [L].

[68] Ov. *fast.* 6.213–218.

Another case of such divine assimilation, albeit much less clear, might be that of Iuppiter Feretrius. Though the god could also be (and is normally) interpreted as an early Jovian hypostasis, his peculiar iconographic focus (a flint-stone) in combination with the fact that he is the only Jovian hypostasis with a clearly distinct temporal and personnel focus (*ludi Capitolini, fetiales*), as well as the obscure etymology of the epithet *Feretrius* suggest that the god is in fact the result of an assimilation of two originally distinct deities, Iuppiter and (an otherwise unknown) Feretrius. The god would then find a perfect parallel in Iuppiter Summanus and other similar cases.[69]

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Synagogues are attested in Rome at least from the beginning of the first century A.D.[70] However, the paramount spatial focus of the Jewish cult was, of course, the temple in Jerusalem with its numerous rituals performed by professional priests. When the temple was destroyed by the Romans in 70 A.D., much of its function and liturgy was transferred to the synagogues of the diaspora, whose significance as spatial foci thus considerably increased. Henceforth, the worship of the Jewish god became focused not on space (i.e. the temple in Jerusalem), but on ritual. An outcome of this spatial 'defocalization' of the cult of the Jewish god was the standardization of the synagogal liturgy.[71]

Early Christianity was initially closely bound up with Judaism, which furnished a considerable percentage of early Christian proselytes. This meant that the temple in Jerusalem must initially have been regarded by many Christian proselytes as a spatial focus of the cult of their god. However, we find already in the gospel of Mark (*ca.* 60–75 A.D.) the notion that the temple was nothing more than a place of prayer, a temporary building of stone, liable to destruction.[72] According to the writer of *Acts* (*ca.* 80–90 A.D.), Stephen quoted Isaiah to support his view that god could not be locked up in a building.[73] With the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D., the Christian cult

[69] For such formations see chapter I.4.

[70] The inscriptions mention synagogues involving the names of Augustus and Agrippa (Lichtenberger 1996, 2158–2160), and Philo, writing under Gaius, mentions a number of synagogues in Rome already in the Augustan age, Philo *leg. ad Gaium* 156.

[71] Reif 1993, 53–121; Messner 2003, 350f.

[72] MK 11.17, 13.1f., 13.14.

[73] *Acta Apost.* 7.47–50, cf. Is. 66.1f. with Légasse 1992, 64–67. But the concept is also found elsewhere in the Old Testament, cf. *2. Chron.* 6.18–21.

lost its spatial focus for the next two hundred years to come. Its new concept was summarized by Minucius Felix (at the end of the second century A.D.): "what temple could I built for him [scil. the Christian god], when this whole world as formed by his hands cannot contain him?"[74] In a similar vein we find Justin Martyr (died 165 A.D. in Rome) saying: "The god of the Christians is not constrained by place, but, being invisible, fills heaven and earth, and is worshipped and glorified by believers everywhere."[75]

While the important members of the traditional Roman pantheon were conceptualized by spatial foci of their cults, Roman Christianity was deliberately elusive in terms of space. The only possible exception is the tomb, allegedly of Peter, found under the basilica of St Peter (where a form of veneration may possibly have taken place in the second century A.D.).[76] Meanwhile, when in the middle of the second century A.D. Justin Martyr was asked by the Roman prefect where the Christians gathered in the capital, his answer was as short as it was telling: "wherever each of us wants to and can. You may think we gather at one specific spot. However, you are wrong."[77] The fact seems to be that the Christian god was initially worshipped in exclusively private settings, at locations temporarily employed for religious observances, either multipurpose buildings or cemeteries. Here, meetings were convened, normally at least once a week on Sunday.[78] The first instances of Christian buildings designed for *permanent* religious use are to be found at the beginning or middle of the third century A.D. not in the capital or Italy, but in the Roman East (Edessa, Dura Europos).[79] No house-churches of any kind are so far archaeologically traceable in Rome before the early fourth century.[80]

This spatial elusiveness of early Christianity was not a disadvantage. In fact, it made the Christian cult virtually immune to any kind of public interference and, at the same time, a very marketable and flexible merchandise that could be 'traded' virtually everywhere without capital

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[74] Min. Fel. *Octavius* 32.1: *templum quod ei extruam, cum totus hic mundus eius opere fabricatus eum capere non possit?*, with *RoR* II, 58f.
[75] *Acta SS. Iustini et sociorum* 3, for the authenticity see Schmid/Stählin 1924, 1253f.
[76] Holloway 2004, 120–155.
[77] *Acta SS. Iustini et sociorum* 3.
[78] Iust. *Apolog.* 1.67.3.
[79] Lampe 1989, 301–313; Messner 2003, 358–366.
[80] Holloway 2004, 62–73; *pace* e.g. Curran 2000, 40f.

investment. I contend (and will support my contention below) that this spatial independence characteristic of the Christian cult is a main reason for the spread of Christianity in the pre-Constantine era.

In Rome—as in the rest of the Roman world—the systematic 'spatialization' of Christianity was virtually invented by Constantine the Great, who thus adopted the pagan practice of attributing specific space to divine concepts and applied it to his new god (clearly not only for reasons of piety). The first official Roman church was the *Basilica Constantiniana* (San Giovanni in Laterano) built shortly after the ruler's formal conversion in *ca.* 312 A.D. The very dimensions of this building were indicative of a new beginning. With a length of some 100 meters and width of almost 60, it by far surpassed the dimensions of the Republican temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus (*ca.* 62 meters × 54 meters). Holloway estimates that it could house 3,000 worshippers.[81] But not only did Constantine allocate specific urban space to his new official cult, he also set a precedent for a new architectural type of building to mark this space, the *basilica*. Inspired by the forms of profane civil buildings and palatial or classical hypostyle architecture, this new edificial type combined pagan traditionalism with Christian innovation. The altar, at the centre of the basilica, was a reminder of the essentially pagan spatial concept that lay behind it.[82] In later years, Constantine built a church of even greater dimensions, Old St. Peter's, which was finished around 330. It was the first basilica to be built over a tomb of a martyr,[83] soon to be followed by iconographic foci of the cults of the martyrs in Rome.[84] Other basilicas founded by Constantine, situated outside the Aurelian Walls, followed suit.[85] Constantine's building activities formed the beginning of the large-scale spatialization of the Christian god in the fourth century A.D. and later.[86]

In conceptual terms, it is fair to say that Christianity had long been space-indifferent. This indifference was due to the very doctrine of monotheism, in which any emphasis or focus on a specific space actually constituted a paradox: given the universal existence, power, and pres-

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[81] Holloway 2004, 57–61; cf. Curran 2000, 93–96.

[82] For the origin of the basilica type see White 1990, 18. For altars in early Christian basilicas see T. Klauser, in: *RAC* I (1950), s.v. *Altar* III col. 334–354; Verstegen 2002, 275f., 279.

[83] Curran 2000, 109–114; Holloway 2004, 77–82.

[84] Elsner 2003, 89–97.

[85] Curran 2000, 90–115; Holloway 2004, 84–112.

[86] Curran 2000, 116–157.

ence of the one god, it was neither reasonable nor desirable to single out specific spatial units for worship. The other cause of the Christian indifference to space was money: most early Christians did not have the financial means to make available and embellish a specific spatial area for the worship of their god. It was Constantine who had both the means and the motive for changing this situation. By introducing the notion of spatial focalization for the Christian god, he adopted the heathen attitude towards divine space.

* * *

The development of the spatial conceptualization of the concept of 'god' may thus be divided broadly speaking into three stages. First came paganism, characterized by a regular attribution of specific space to specific divine entities. In terms of architectural forms, such space did not differ essentially from one deity to another (if we exempt special cases such as the 'caves' of Mithras). The usual constituents of divine space were an altar and a temple, apart from secondary accessories more directly linked to the nature of the individual god, such as a cult statue with a specific iconography or the 'hearth' of the temple of Vesta. The normal way to express the gradation of importance within the hierarchy of the various gods was not architectural form, but size, building material and the technical execution of the spatial markers. Still, bulk and craftsmanship did not necessarily reflect the importance of a cult, as is immediately apparent from the inconspicuous buildings of such prodigious cults as that of Iuppiter Feretrius or the temple of Vesta. Generally speaking, it is fair to say that space transformed in order to indicate divinity (most notably also divinity of the emperor) normally remained indistinct with regard to the individuality of the gods concerned. It is this indistinctiveness that makes the work of modern archaeologists so dauntingly difficult, whenever they are called to determine the owner deity of a temple without further evidence. Scores of unidentified temple structures in cities like Ostia or Pompeii, where architectural remains abound while the epigraphical evidence is often lacking, are a case in point.

The second stage is the period from the beginning of Christianity to the reign of Constantine. This period is characterized by two competing concepts of space, the traditional pagan one and the new Christian concept of divinity without any particular reference to space. The latter had three notable advantages over its competitor: it was cheap, it was immune to foreign interference (no temples meant: no temples

could be destroyed), and it was easily transferable from one place to another. On the other hand, the traditional pagan concepts of space as constituents of a 'god' had to compete not only with Christianity, but also with the disintegrative forces of the spatial markers of the imperial cult. One may doubt whether Christianity would have managed to eventually triumph over paganism, had it not been assisted by the dissolving forces of the imperial cult.

The last stage is inaugurated by Constantine and characterized by a synthesis of the two competing concepts of 'spatialization' and 'non-spatialization' of the divine. Constantine realized that the majority of his subjects were still pagans and that the adoption of and the emphasis on the concept of 'space' in conceptualizing a divine entity would facilitate a quicker conversion of the masses as well as control of their ritual activities. At the same time, he acknowledged previous Christian indifference or even aversion to spatial fixation by avoiding the traditional architectural form of the temple.

2. *Time*

Roman gods were invariably eternal. This explains why any Roman god, even the antiquated and forgotten ones, could be invoked at any times. Temporality was therefore an indispensable constituent concept of the concept of divinity. But 'eternity' was too unspecific a concept to be of any practical consequence in cultic terms. Therefore, it was narrowed down. The outcome was a series of occasions, i.e. temporal foci, on which the relevant deities were expected to be present and particularly benevolent. This cycle of temporal foci of Roman deities was recorded in the pontifical calendar.

Hardly any element of Roman culture has enjoyed such breathtaking success as the Julian calendar, of which Scaliger could justly say that it "marked a victory in the realm of culture more lasting than any Roman victory on land or sea".[87] Reaching back to the sixth century B.C., it was substantially revised by Caesar and, after a minor adjustment by Pope Gregory XIII at the end of the sixteenth century, commenced its triumphant march all over the globe. At an early stage, perhaps towards the end of the fourth century B.C., festivals, i.e. temporal foci of the

[87] J. J. Scaliger, *Opus novum de emendatione temporum in octo libros tributum* (Paris 1583), 157 (source: Feeney 2007b, 193).

worship of specific gods, were included. Later on, annual celebrations of public events, such as victories of the Roman armies and the rulers' anniversaries, were also marked in it. From time immemorial, its redaction lay in the hands of the pontiffs. The first surviving copy belongs to the first half of the first century B.C. (*Fasti Antiates Maiores*), a wall painting from a Mediterranean seaside resort south of Rome. The principal importance of this copy lies in the fact that it represents a selection of festivals and ceremonies of the religious calendar as it was before the revisions initiated by Caesar in 46 B.C. Nevertheless, a selection it was, not the whole calendar.

The most important temporal foci of divine concepts in Rome were their 'holidays', Latin *feriae*. Ancient sources divide such 'holidays' into two main categories, *feriae publicae* and *privatae*.[88] The former were relevant to public cults and are dealt with now, the latter were relevant to private cults and are dealt with below.

The *feriae publicae* of gods can be divided into those celebrated annually on the same day, and thus marked as such on the calendar (*feriae stativae*), and those whose specific dates were announced by the magistrates or priests (*feriae conceptivae*). Besides this, extraordinary *feriae* were ordered at the discretion of consuls and praetors (*feriae imperativae*), and later of the emperor.[89]

Initially, all *feriae* were proclaimed on the fifth or seventh day (*Nonae*) of each month by the *rex sacrorum*, i.e. *all* were initially *feriae conceptivae*.[90] If so, the question arises why some maintained this status, while others turned into *feriae stativae*. The explanation is hardly to be found in specific seasonal events marked by the *feriae*: for not all *feriae conceptivae* depended on seasonal conditions, and some *feriae* that did depend on seasonal conditions were no *feriae conceptivae*.[91] One might guess that those

[88] Cf. Fest. 284.18–21 [L], ibid. 282.14–16; Macr. *sat.* 1.16.5–8; Cato *agr.* 140.

[89] Cf. Macr. *sat.* 1.16.5–8 with Michels 1967, 73; Rüpke 1995, 472 n. 177, 488–492. Among the *feriae publicae* Macrobius counts here also the *nundinae*, market days. For the festive character of the *nundinae* cf. Rüpke 1995, 454.

[90] Varro *ling.* 6.13, 28; Macr. *sat.* 1.15.12, with Rüpke 1995, 213f.

[91] Baudy 1998, 117f. and others have argued that *feriae conceptivae* were linked to agricultural work and thus ultimately depended on weather conditions (i.e. they required flexibility). But the *Feriae Latinae*, in no way connected with agriculture, were *feriae conceptivae.* They were linked to the inauguration of new consuls, whose term did not begin at a specific date in the early Republic. However, from 153 B.C. onwards the consuls entered office on January 1 (Rüpke 1995, 194). Nevertheless, despite their fixed

feriae conceptivae that had political connotations, such as the *Feriae Latinae* or the *Saturnalia*, were less likely to be changed so as to become *feriae stativae*. For such a change would have been tantamount to a *de facto* loss of political control on the part of those responsible for fixing the dates of the *feriae conceptivae*, most notably the pontiffs. After all, such political 'holidays' could always be politically exploited, either to promote one's own cause or to obstruct the plans of one's political opponent.

The core of *feriae publicae* may have been fixed in the sixth century, although the publication of a *feriale* may have been delayed until the end of the fourth century B.C.[92] One cannot verify to what extent information that was self-evident to the target group of the published calendar (ordinary people as opposed to the aristocratic élite with its priestly monopoly?) was deliberately omitted. Interestingly, it appears that the earliest version of the published *feriale* was not modeled on the 'earliest' reconstructable Roman pantheon, as reflected by those gods that were represented by the *flamines*[93] or, for that matter, by the names of months of the earliest Roman calendar.[94] Furthermore, it seems that the *feriale* was not committed to written form immediately after its creation. This

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nature, the *Feriae Latinae* are nowhere mentioned in later calendars as *feriae stativae*. On the contrary, in the imperial period they were entirely dissociated from the inauguration of the consuls, cf. E. Samter, in: *RE* VI.2 (1909), col. 2214. On the other hand, the *Vinalia* (on August 19), clearly connected with viticulture, i.e. heavily dependent on weather conditions (cf. e.g. the *Lex Irnitana* from Spain of the Flavian period, which regulated the proclamation of *feriae* according to the flexible beginning of the vintage season, as discussed by Rüpke 1995, 541f.), appear as *feriae stativae* already in the oldest Republican calendar (*Fasti Antiates Maiores*).

[92] For a 6th century date cf. Champeaux 1982, 321f.; Coarelli 1983, 185f.; Coarelli 1988, 244f.; for publication dates in the 4th century see Rüpke 1995, 245–274; Scheid 2003a, 54f.

[93] The *flamines* include priests of gods that are absent in the *feriale*, either because the relevant deity had been discarded from the pantheon already, or because certain festivals were too insignificant to be mentioned. Flora had a *flamen floralis* and a cult in Rome, despite her absence in the *feriale*—possibly because her *feriae* (*Floralia*) were *conceptivae*, cf. Bernstein 1998, 207f. By contrast, the *flamen falacer* (Varro *ling.* 5.84; 7.45) has left no trace anywhere outside the antiquarian literature in Rome. Therefore, the relevant deity (Falacer) is likely to have disappeared from Rome at a fairly early stage, presumably before the final arrangement of the *feriale*. The same holds true of Palatua: a *flamen palatualis* is attested in the sources (Varro 7.45, Fest. 284.2–4 L with Radke 1965, 242), and epigraphically outside Rome (*CIL* VIII 10500, XI 5031 [pontifex palatualis!], see Latte 1960, 36 n. 4); it may have disappeared from Rome at a fairly early stage, since it is not represented in the *feriale* (unless the goddess was a later import). For the evidence of the other *flamines* see Vanggaard 1988, 24–29.

[94] The names of the last six months (*Quintilis—December*) derive from numerals, while the names of the first six months are derived, either from theonyms (e.g. Ianuarius, Martius, Aprilis, Maius, Iunius), or from a characteristic of the relevant month (Februarius, i.e. *februare* = to purify). For ancient interpretations of the names of the

would explain irregularities in what seems to have been originally conceived as a consistent plan: for example, despite the overall scheme, at least on two occasions we find two *feriae* on the same day.[95] Besides this, despite the purely religious character of the *feriale*, an additional 'political' holiday, i.e. a holiday commemorating a specific historical event, had found its way into the official calendar as early as the first half of the first century B.C., viz. the *regifugium*.[96] The latter, however, appears to have been an extraneous element anyway, being exceptional in terms of timing: in violation of usual practice, it fell on an even day (March 24) and was immediately preceded by another 'holiday' (*Terminalia*, March 23) without a day intervening between the two *feriae*.

In practical terms, the *feriale* reflected a slowly but permanently shifting system of temporal foci. For the speed of this dynamic process one may compare the *Calendar of Philocalus*, composed in 354 A.D., some 400 years after the oldest preserved calendar, the *Fasti Antiates Maiores*. Of the forty-five festivals of the latter, only twelve are mentioned by name in the former, while other festivals were renamed, replaced by public Games, or simply forgotten.[97]

The *feriae publicae* of gods did not necessarily denote a homogeneous category. True, most *feriae publicae* mentioned by the *feriale* were specifically marked in the preserved epigraphic evidence by the mysterious sign *NP*, which has caused headaches to the most eminent epigraphists,

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months see Degrassi 1963, 317–323; for further discussion Bömer *Fasten* I, 40–42; for the etymology Szemerényi 1989, 56–59.

It is remarkable that the pantheon of the earliest fixed Roman calendar, as reflected by the names of the months, does not betray a close affinity with the gods, to whom the 'named days' of the *feriale* were devoted. Thus, Iuppiter, who is by far the most prominent god in the *feriale*, is absent in the nomenclature of Roman months. By contrast, Iuno (= Iunius) is absent in the *feriale*, while Ianus (= Ianuarius) is represented by one 'named day' only in the *feriale*, thus figuring behind such deities as Carmenta and Consus (two 'named days'). Only Mars (= Martius), and perhaps Aphrodite under a different name (= Aprilis?), figure more prominently in the *feriale* and are honoured with the naming of a month in the calendar simultaneously.

[95] For the scheme see below in this chapter.

[96] The *regifugium* naturally had the ring of the expulsion of the last Etruscan king Tarquinius Superbus in 509 B.C. and was interpreted in this way throughout the ages, cf. Fest. 346.22–36 [L] [exact sense irrecoverable]; Ov. *fast.* 2.685–856; Auson. *ecl.* 16.13f. [Green]; *Fasti Polem. Silv.* in Degrassi 1963, 265. Whatever its actual origin, I cannot imagine that it ever meant anything else to a Roman, despite the fact that modern scholars, perhaps in order to save the purely 'religious' character of the *feriale*, have tried to discard this 'political' interpretation, cf. e.g. Warde Fowler 1916, 327–330; Scullard 1981, 81f. Much less clear is its relation to—and the 'political' nature of—the *poplifugia* on July 5.

[97] Curran 2000, 221–230.

starting with Mommsen. However, some *feriae publicae* were marked otherwise.[98] Even if we cannot decipher the letters *NP* satisfactorily, the general nature of public holidays is made clear by the sources: *Feriae publicae* were days of promoting divine peace; business transactions and physical labour, especially by slaves, were restricted or completely avoided, while certain priests were not even allowed to *see* someone working on that day less they should be defiled.[99] In theory, such regulations applied to all *feriae publicae* alike. In practice, though, there were manifold gradations. First, there were palpable differences in terms of popularity. On the one end of the scale one may mention the exceedingly popular *Saturnalia* (December 17), on the other the completely obscure *Agonalia* on May 21. Strangely, not even their divine patron is known with certainty (Vediovis?).[100] One may also refer to the *Fur(r)inalia* on July 25, whose deity by the time of Varro was almost completely forgotten.[101] Second, there were practical needs. It was virtually impossible for the peasant to lay down his tools on any given *dies feriatus*, if weather conditions required otherwise. Hence, according to P. Mucius Scaevola (cos. 133 B.C.), an expert on pontifical law and *pontifex maximus*, on *feriae* one was allowed to do what could bring harm if left undone.[102] Third, not all public festivals were relevant to both sexes alike: thus, it is a fair guess that men would have been less likely to observe the *Matralia*, the festival of matrons, on June 11, while women would not automatically participate in the *Armilustrium*, the 'purification of arms', on October 19. Fourth, many public festivals were specifically linked to a professional group. It is natural, therefore, that the *Vinalia* on August 19 and the *Robigalia* on April 25 were of special importance for the rural peasantry. Similarly, the *Vestalia* on June 9 were especially linked to bakers and millers,[103] and the *Quinquatrus* on March 19 were sacred to Minerva and thus connected to all kinds of arts and crafts.[104] These were mainly observed by urban craftsmen, artisans and skilled labours, but not self-evidently, say, by members of the senatorial order. Fifth,

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[98] For *NP*-days in general see Degrassi 1963, 332–334; Michels 1967, 68–83; Rüpke 1995, 258–260, for *feriae* that were not *NP*-days see Michels 1967, 69, 76f.

[99] Cf. Michels 1967, 69–72; Scheid 1981, 126–128; Rüpke 1995, 464f.

[100] For Vediovis see chapter II.3.

[101] Cf. Varro *ling.* 6.19 with Michels 1967, 78f.

[102] Macr. *sat.* 1.16.11: *Scaevola denique consultus quid feriis agi licet, respondit quod praetermissum noceret*, with Michel 1967, 71f.; Rüpke 1995, 466.

[103] Cf. Ov. *fast.* 6.311–318 with Koch 1958, 1755–1757; Scullard 1981, 150.

[104] Cf. Ov. *fast.* 3.815–834 with Scullard 1981, 93f.

there may have been territorial differences concerning observances. Varro reports that the *Septimontium* was celebrated, not by the Roman people as a whole, but by the 'people of the hills', while the *Paganalia* were held by the members of a *pagus*.[105]

In short, there were a variety of ways in which *feriae* could be celebrated. Further diversity is suggested by the lack of a consistent terminology: in the imperial period, people could no longer distinguish between various forms of religiously relevant days such as *dies nefasti*, *dies religiosi* and *dies atri*,[106] and even legal texts assimilated *dies nefasti* and *feriae*.[107] The result was that the various, originally distinct concepts of time were assimilated to each other. Even more confusing is the officially sanctioned modification of the character of a number of holidays: Caesar transformed the legal marking of three *feriae* into *NP*-days, thus clearly reacting to changing religious attitudes.[108]

The religious life of the individual was determined not only by the *feriale*, but also—and predominantly—by private holidays (*feriae privatae*).[109] Private holidays were either passed on within major clans (*gentes*), or derived from the personal biography of the celebrant, such as birthdays, anniversaries etc.[110] The *feriae*, celebrated by the leading members of the family (*familia*), especially the *pater familias*, certainly affected other members of the family as well.[111] Despite the fact that the *feriae privatae* were of paramount importance for the religious life of the individual citizens and frequently might have overshadowed

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[105] Varro *ling.* 6.24 with Bendlin 2002, 30f.

[106] Gell. 4.9.5f.; 5.17.1.

[107] Rüpke 1995, 430f.

[108] Rüpke 1995, 377f. Also the legal character of non-holidays could, of course, be changed. Thus, the *nundinae* were turned from *dies nefasti* to *dies fasti* by the *Lex Hortensia* in 287 B.C., cf. Rüpke 1995, 274–280, and Caesar again changed October 16 from an *EN*-day to an *F*-day, cf. Rüpke ibid.

[109] Fest. 282.14–16 [L].

[110] Characteristic is Horace's *dies festus*, March 1, on which the poet professes to sacrifice a goat annually to Liber for saving him from a falling tree, Hor. *carm.* 3.8.6–8, with 2.13. Macr. *sat.* 1.16.7f.: *Sunt praeterea feriae propriae familiarum, ut familiae Claudiae vel Aemiliae seu Iuliae sive Corneliae, et siquas ferias proprias quaeque familia ex usu domesticae celebritatis observat. Sunt singulorum, uti natalium fulgurumque susceptiones, item funerum atque expiationum. Apud veteres quoque qui nominasset Salutem, Semoniam, Seiam, Segetiam, Tutilinam ferias observabat.* The context makes clear that Macrobius here uses the term *familia* for *gens*. Such private holidays could receive a more permanent outlook by the establishment and funding of specific cult actions on these days, as attested in inscriptions (often on the occasion of dedications or burials), Rüpke 1995, 525–533.

[111] For the exemption from work of domestic servants on the birthday of their master cf. Hor. *carm.* 3.17.14–16.

public holidays, they have left almost no trace in ancient sources.[112] It is important to note the ambivalent position of the private holidays of the imperial family, which became *feriae publicae* to the extent determined by the emperor.[113]

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The way in which divine concepts were formed through the Roman calendar can now be demonstrated by a number of examples. The temporal foci of the most supreme Roman god, Iuppiter, are numerous. To begin with, the days of the full moon (*Idus*) were sacred to him.[114] That explains why the Ides were marked in the calendar as *NP*-days, i.e. why they belonged to the same category as most public holidays.[115] But, apart from the monthly rhythm, worship of Iuppiter focused on various dates of the annual cycle too. As a matter of fact, no Republican god equalled him in the number of 'fixed holidays': the *Poplifugia* (July 5), the *Vinalia* (April 23 and August 19), the *Meditrinalia* (October 11), and possibly also the *Regifugium* (February 24).[116] As to public Games, the *ludi Romani* in September[117] and the *ludi plebei* in November were sacred to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus,[118] while the Capitoline Games on October 15 were dedicated to Iuppiter Feretrius.[119] The last two, at least, were not only among the oldest Games, but also the most extended religious events of the Republican year. However, the temporal focalization of Iuppiter went further. The anniversaries of Jovian temples fell exclusively on the 'marked' days of the month, i.e. the first (*Kalendae*) and fifth (or in March, May, July and October the seventh) day (*Nonae*) of the month, as well as—and unsurprisingly (since dedicated to Iuppiter anyway)—the 13th (or in March, May, July and October the 15th) day of the month (Ides).[120] The only case that

[112] For some exceptions cf. Rüpke 1995, 502f.
[113] Feeney 2007b, 185–189.
[114] Ov. *fast.* 1.56, 1.587f.; Paul. Fest. 93.3 [L] with Rüpke 1995, 209f.
[115] For the *NP*-days see above in this chapter.
[116] For a convenient survey of the 'named days' with their relevant deities cf. Degrassi 1963, 364f. For the connection of the *Regifugium* with Iuppiter cf. Degrassi 1963, 416.
[117] Degrassi 1963, 506f.
[118] Degrassi 1963, 528f.; Bernstein 1998, 157–163.
[119] Degrassi 1963, 522; Bernstein 1998, 103–106.
[120] Ides: Iuppiter Optimus Maximus (Sept. 13), Iuppiter Victor (April 13; Wissowa 1912, 123), Iuppiter Invictus (June 13; Wissowa 1912, 123); *Kalendae*: Iuppiter Liber (Sept. 1), Iuppiter Tonans (Sept. 1), *Nonae*: Iuppiter Fulgur (October 7).

would contradict this rule has been convincingly explained as having originally fallen on the Ides too.[121]

To further illustrate the importance of temporal focalization, some short additional notes should be made. For instance, all Republican temples of Iuno were dedicated on the *Kalendae*, with one exception that was dedicated on the *Nonae*.[122] Independent evidence suggests that the *Kalendae* were indeed sacred to Iuno.[123] In the case of Mars, all but two festivals of the war god are found in his month, i.e. March. Furthermore, even the two exceptions to this rule are directly related to festivals celebrated in March.[124]

Naturally, unofficial or even banned cults likewise show temporal focalization. For example, we hear that the 'calendar' of the cult of Bacchus, at the beginning of the second century B.C., included regular initiations, which initially were carried out just three times a year. However, after reforms of *ca.* 210 B.C., initiations were performed on five days of every month.[125] It is at least a plausible guess that the *Liberalia* on March 17, initially connected with scenic Games (*ludi*), also served as a temporal focus for the cult of Bacchus, given the general identification of Bacchus with Liber during the Republican period. The merger of the Games with the *ludi Ceriales* has been tentatively, though plausibly, connected with the Bacchanalian affair.[126]

In the same vein, the worship of foreign gods was temporally focused. For example, in the cult of Isis, the *Menologia Rustica* (first century A.D.) mention a festival called *Heuresis* (i.e. the recovery of Osiris—Sarapis, who had been killed and dismembered by Typhon) on November 15 (while the *Calendar of Philocalus* refers to the same festival on November 1 as the climax of a festival named *Isia*. This festival lasted from October 28 to November 3).[127] Furthermore, the *Menologia* record an *Isidis navigium* on 5 March[128] and two festivals in April, namely the *sacrum Phariae* (*Pharia* being an epithet of Isis), held somewhere between

[121] Iuppiter Stator (Jan. 13?, or June 27? See Wissowa 1912, 122f.).
[122] Iuno Sospita (February 1), Iuno Lucina (March 1); Iuno Moneta (June 1), Iuno Regina (September 1); *Nonae*: Iuno Curritis (October 7).
[123] Rüpke 1995, 210–212.
[124] March 1, March 14 (*Equirria*), March 17 (*Agonalia*), March 23 (*Tubilustrium*); exceptions: February 27 (*Equirria*), October 19 (*Armilustrium*).
[125] Liv. 39.13.8f.
[126] Naev. *com.* 113 [R^3] with Wiseman 2000, 113; cf. Wiseman 1998, 42f.
[127] Degrassi 1963, 526f., 531; Malaise 1972a, 221–227.
[128] Degrassi 1963, 419f.

22–24 April, and the *Sarapia* on 25 April.[129] In addition, the *Calendar of Philocalus* mentions the *lychnapsia* on August 12.[130] In the Egyptian calendar, clearly underlying most Roman dates, there may have been patterns of focalization that were lost when the dates were adopted into the Roman calendar. Nevertheless, temporal focalization characterized the cult of Isis even in Rome.

Turning to imperial worship, we have to bear in mind that the divinity of the emperor was modelled on that of traditional gods. This included the temporal focalization of his cult. Indeed, the terminology is telling: imperial 'holidays' were called *feriae*, just like the 'holidays' of traditional gods.[131] More importantly even, 'ordinary' days were declared imperial holidays, resulting in their 'day' character being changed. They were marked as *NP*-days, as were the vast majority of traditionally 'fixed' holidays.[132] Certain days served *eo ipso* as temporal foci, for instance the imperial birthday or the anniversary of the emperor's enthronement (*dies imperii*). Thus, Augustus' birthday (September 23) was declared a public holiday in 30 B.C. with Games being added later in 8 B.C.[133] Consider the festival established on the occasion of the victory at Actium in 30 B.C. (September 2), apparently intended to form the beginning of a new era.[134] Circus Games became the rule on either of these occasions and were continued under later emperors too.[135] Many more such imperial 'holidays' were established by Augustus and his successors, most of which were of a temporary nature, though all served in varying degrees as temporal foci of the imperial cult.[136]

The distribution of 'fixed holidays' in the Republican calendar shows a remarkable consistency. All 'fixed holidays' fell after the *Nonae* of a month (for it was then that they were 'announced' by the *rex sacrorum*).[137]

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[129] Degrassi 1963, 449; Malaise 1972a, 229.

[130] Degrassi 1963, 494; Malaise 1972a, 229f. The introduction of *Heuresis* (and, by extension perhaps, that of some or all other Isiac festivals) in Rome has been convincingly dated to the reigns of Caligula or early Claudius (*CIL* I^2 pp. 333f.; Degrassi 1963, 526f.; Malaise 1972a, 226f.; *pace* Merkelbach 1963, 50 n. 21). It is at least a plausible guess that, most of the festivals mentioned here were officially introduced in Rome during the middle of the first century or thereabouts. Such a date would well fit the increasing popularity of Egyptian gods in the post-Tiberian period.

[131] Rüpke 1995, 515–522.

[132] Degrassi 1963, 368.

[133] Degrassi 1963, 512–514.

[134] Degrassi 1963, 505; Weinstock 1971, 311f.

[135] Degrassi 1963, 374f.

[136] Herz 1978; Scheid 1990, 384–426.

[137] Varro *ling.* 6.13, 6.28; Macr. *sat.* 1.15.12 with Rüpke 1995, 213f.

In addition, all fell on uneven days and, as a consequence, no 'fixed holiday' ever follows immediately on another.[138] Where a festival lasted for more than a day, days of non-festive character intervened. Consequently we find the *Carmentalia* on January 11 and 15, the *Lemuria* on May 9, 11 and 13 and the *Lucaria* on July 19 and 21. Exceptions to these rules are few. The *Regifugium*, dedicated to Iuppiter, fell on February 24, and the *Equirria*, dedicated to Mars, on March 14 (following the earlier *Equirria* on February 27). The only festival before the *Nonae* of a month is the *Kalendae* of March, while the *Poplifugia* fall exactly on the *Nonae* (July 5). These exceptions must be briefly commented on.

The *Kalendae* of March constitute the beginning of the Roman calendar in its first historical form. The names of the month following June (namely *Quinctilis* [later July], *Sextilis* [later August] etc.) are calculated from March onwards. A number of rites underpin the importance of the *Kalendae* of March as the beginning of the Roman year.[139] The special festive character of the *Kalendae* of March is therefore not surprising. Concerning the dates of the *Regifugium* and the *Poplifugia*, their similar word-formation, their seeming reference to a specific historical event (otherwise unique among the 'fixed holidays'), and their peculiar position within the calendar may indicate a close relationship with each other, and a secondary addition to the calendar. Lastly, the celebration of the March *Equirria* on an even day remains in fact unexplained.[140]

The final and perhaps most important principle of the Republican 'fixed holiday' is the fact that most of them formed a temporal focus for one, and only one god at a time. The parallel to the spatial foci of official cults is obvious.[141] Still, a few exceptions to this rule must be considered.[142]

All Ides were sacred to Iuppiter and consequently, no other Republican 'fixed holidays' fell on the Ides, with the exception of the Ides of March. These were also sacred to Anna Perenna, who was worshipped

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[138] Degrassi 1963, 366.

[139] Rüpke 1995, 193–195.

[140] Warde Fowler 1916, 44f.; Degrassi 1963, 422.

[141] Dubourdieu/Scheid 2002, 60: "L'espace de la cité et du monde est partagé entre les dieux et les humains, de la même manière que le temps du mois est divisé en jours réservés aux dieux et jours destinés aux activités des mortels".

[142] I leave aside here the very dubious case of Dec. 11, on which the *Septimontium* and a completely obscure *Agonium* were held. Only the latter seems to have been a 'fixed holiday', although the god to whom the day was dedicated is not clear. The *Septimontium* was not marked as a 'fixed holiday' in the calendar, although it was clearly a public event, cf. Wissowa 1912, 439 with n. 6.

then, on the first full moon of the first month of the old calendar (beginning in March), as the goddess of the 'new year' (as also suggested by the etymology of her name). Ovid may have preserved old beliefs that linked her to the moon, although as his own uncertainty shows, this tradition had been almost forgotten in his day.[143] Apart from her function, there is no apparent reason why the festival dedicated to Anna Perenna could not have fallen on another day in March. It is clear that March 11, 13, 25 and 27 would have been available, as none of these was a 'fixed holiday'. In short, Anna Perenna had received her place in the calendar on the basis of function at a time when it still mattered. Even later, when the beginning of the year had been moved to January 1, she successfully defended her place in the calendar. Two conclusions can be drawn from this test case: firstly, function was more important than the avoidance of any overlap of temporal foci of different gods, and secondly, temporal foci in the traditional calendar were as conservative as spatial foci and, once established, were virtually irremovable.

A similar coincidence of temporal foci of different cults is found on March 19. The day called *Quinquatrus* (= 'the fifth day after the Ides') was sacred to both Mars and Minerva, though again independently of each other. As a 'fixed holiday' of Mars, the *Quinquatrus* were connected with the purification of the *ancilia*, the mythical shields on which the prosperity of Rome allegedly depended. These were kept in the temple of Mars by the Salii. This festival can be seen to parallel the *Armilustrium* held on October 19, which was also linked to the purification of the *ancilia* by the Salii and fell on the same day of the month as the *Quinquatrus*. In other words, the date of the *Quinquatrus* as a 'fixed holiday' of Mars was firmly anchored in the calendar by its parallel 'holiday' in October.[144]

The attribution of March 19 to Minerva has been explained by equating Minerva here with Nerio, an otherwise obscure female consort of Mars.[145] One may argue that groups with similar spatial or functional foci such as Ceres, Liber and Libera, could be worshipped jointly at the *Cerialia* (April 19). If a similar spatial or functional focus existed in the case of Mars and Nerio, one would consider this solution more seriously. However, no such focus is on record, while rituals

[143] Ov. *fast.* 3.657.
[144] Warde Fowler 1916, 57–59, 250f.
[145] Warde Fowler 1916, 60–62.

performed on the *Quinquatrus* unequivocally mark craftsmen and artists as their target group. These stood under the protection of Minerva, and predominantly the Aventine Minerva, at least from the time of the second Punic War.[146] In addition, the anniversaries of two ancient temples of Minerva, on the Aventine and the Caelian Hills, fell on the *Quinquatrus* (another tradition places the anniversary of the Aventine temple on the *Quinquatrus Minores*, i.e. June 19), and followed the traditional pattern of temple anniversaries celebrated on 'fixed holidays' of the relevant gods. In other words, we cannot explain away the fact that the *Quinquatrus* were dedicated to two independent divine notions, Mars and Minerva. Nor is this the only case of such 'double' attribution of a 'holiday': into a similar category falls the *October horse*, sacred to Mars, but sacrificed on the Ides of October, which—like all Ides—were traditionally sacred to Iuppiter; or the *Liberalia* celebrated on March 17, falling on the same day as the *Agonalia* of Mars. We may explain such double attribution as mere chance. But it is worth noting that in all three cases, double attribution occurs in connection with Mars. Without proposing an elaborate theory, which would necessarily remain hypothetical, let me remind the reader that the city of Rome was the result of a synoecism of the neighbouring peoples. One should at least grant the possibility that Mars may have played a special role in one of the synoecizing communities (e.g. that on the Palatine, whose priestly college of *Salii Palatini* was under explicit protection of the war god), and that the double attributions of 'holidays' as well as other inconsistencies in an otherwise consistent calendary system are residues of a unification of different calendars, which were employed by the communities in question.[147]

The coincidence of temporal foci may, on occasion, be due to complementary functional foci, in the same way that spatial foci were, at times, connected to complementary functional foci too.[148] I have mentioned the example of Ceres, Liber and Libera, who are honoured jointly on the *Cerialia*. A further example is the joint worship of Iuppiter and Venus during the two wine-festivals, on April 23 (*Vinalia Priora*) and August 19 (*Vinalia Rustica*). Iuppiter was closely linked with viticulture due to his functional focus as a god of the 'heavens' and

[146] Fest. 446.29–448.4 [L].
[147] Cf. Cornell 1995, 74f.
[148] See chapter I.1.

therefore of 'weather conditions'. Venus for her part was a goddess of fertility and, more specifically, of gardens and gardening. In this sense, her functional foci amplified those of Iuppiter as a god of the weather. Two ancient sanctuaries devoted to her (in the grove of [Venus] Libitina outside the Esquiline gate,[149] the other near the Circus Maximus) had their anniversaries on the *Vinalia Rustica*, the day celebrated by the kitchen-gardeners as their 'holiday'.[150] The impact of the cult of Venus on the *Vinalia Rustica* was so marked that even well-informed sources attributed the 'holiday' exclusively to Venus.[151] In fact, the day may have originally belonged simply to Venus, for it was a female victim (a lamb, *agna*) that was offered on this occasion. Such an interpretation would, of course, mean disregarding Varro's explicit statement: "this is a day sacred to Iuppiter, not to Venus".[152]

Complementary functional foci may also be the reason for the coincidence on December 23 of the *Larentalia*, sacred to Larent(i)a or Larentina, to whom a sacrifice for the dead (*parentatio*) was offered on this occasion, and Iuppiter, in the form of Vediovis, that is as a chthonic deity.[153] The specific sacrifice (*parentatio*) is well attested, *inter alia* by Cato and by the most eminent scholars of the Augustan age (Verrius Flaccus, Varro).[154] In contrast, Latte does not succeed in proving his theory that a sacrifice to Larent(i)a on an altar (*ara*) by the pontiffs, as attested by Cicero, our earliest witness, excludes worship of the dead: at the very least, worship of chthonic gods (and that would include the worship of the dead, I assume) was conceivable under similar circumstances: Consus' chthonic character is manifested by the fact that his altar (univocally called *ara* by the sources) was subterranean, while it was the *sacerdotes*, i.e. the pontiffs, who offered a sacrifice there on July 7.[155]

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[149] Cf. Scheid 2004, who has doubts about the existence of an independent deity under the name 'Libitina'.

[150] Cf. Wissowa 1912, 289.

[151] Varro *ling.* 6.20; id. *rer. rust.* 1.1.6.

[152] Varro *ling.* 6.16.

[153] See chapter II.3.

[154] Cato apud Macr. *sat.* 1.10.16 (= fr 16 [Peter]) with Degrassi 1963, 543f. for the remaining sources.

[155] Latte 1960, 92f. with Cic. *ep. ad Brut.* 23.8 [S.-B., = 1.15.8]; followed e.g. by Radke 1965, 165; cf. also chapter I.3. For the altar of Consus see P. Ciancio Rossetto, in: *LTUR* III (1993), 322, for the *sacerdotes* Tert. *de spect.* 5 with Wissowa 1912, 202. Acca Larentia is presumably not to be identified with the Mater Larum, cf. Scheid 1990, 590f.

Complementary functional foci of various cults may merge to such a degree that a temporal focus, originally characteristic of one specific cult, is eventually attributed to other cults too. For instance, during the festival of the Lemures (*Lemuria*, 9th, 11th and 13th of May) beans were offered—according to one source—not to the Lemures, but to the Larvae. According to another source, however, the recipients of the sacrifice were the *manes paterni*.[156] The reason for this confusion was largely the fact that the different notions of Lemures, Larvae and Manes were confusingly similar. In exact usage, the ordinary word for "ghost" in the sense of terrifying spooks was *larvae*, which was considered to be a synonym of the antiquated *lemures*.[157] If, however, one referred to the ghosts as the venerable souls of the past, *manes* was the correct word to use.[158] Besides this, the difference between Larvae (Lemures) and Manes was local. While Manes were the ghosts of the underworld, Larvae (Lemures) belonged to the upper world; this explains why Larvae figure conspicuously in Plautan daily life and Manes are absent there.[159]

In the case of Ceres, Liber and Libera, spatial foci interacted with temporal foci. Liber and his female counterpart, Libera, had their own 'fixed holiday' (*Liberalia*, March 17), including their own scenic Games.[160] Interestingly, we find the two deities worshipped also during the *Cerialia* on April 19 (as already laid down by the *Fasti Antiates Maiores*). Meanwhile, the anniversary of the Aventine temple also fell on the *Cerialia*. Given these facts, the following scenario seems plausible: originally, Liber and Libera had their own 'fixed holiday' on March 17, which may have included scenic Games, while Ceres was honoured on April 19. When the temple of the Aventine triad was dedicated at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., the 'fixed holiday' of the most prominent member of the triad, Ceres, was chosen as the consecration day of the temple. Subsequently, Liber and Libera were 'added' to the 'fixed holiday' of Ceres thanks to their joint worship in the temple. Subsequently, perhaps in the wake of the Bacchanalian affair, the scenic Games of Liber were

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[156] Varro ap. Non. 197 [L]; Fest. 77.25–28 [L]; Ov. *fast.* 5.443.
[157] Latte 1960, 99 n. 1.
[158] Liv. 8.6.9f.; 8.9.8; Cic. *leg.* 2.22 al.
[159] Plaut. *Aul.* 642; *Merc.* 981, 983 al. This also explains the expression *larvatus* = possessed by a larva, cf. Plaut. *Men.* 890 al. In Terence, both *larvae* and *manes* are absent. Fest. 146.22f. [L] is too mutilated to be of value: whatever its sense, the passage can hardly mean that the *di superi* were counted among the *manes*.
[160] Naev. *com.* 113 [R^3] with Wiseman 1998, 35–43.

also merged into the fixed holiday of Ceres.[161] The Aventine triad is, therefore, the only case in the Republican calendar in which a joint cult is evidently reflected as such, by joint spatial *and* temporal foci.

If we consider the interaction of fixed holidays and public Games in the Republic, it is apparent that until the time of Caesar, care was taken that no fixed holidays of gods intervened other than the ones honoured by the Games. For instance, the months in which the two most important public Games took place, September (*ludi Romani*) and November (*ludi plebei*), were free of all fixed holidays apart from the Ides, which were, as usual, sacred to Iuppiter. Since, however, both Games were devoted to Iuppiter anyway, there was no inconsistency of temporal foci here. Nor do we find an overlap in the case of other Republican Games, viz. the *ludi Megalenses* (April 4–10), *Florales* (April 28–May 3), *Apollinares* (July 6–13) and the victory Games of Sulla, established in 82 B.C. and first held a year later (October 26–November 1). The exception is the *ludi Cereris* (April 12–19). They included the Ides of April, sacred to Iuppiter (April 13), and the *Fordicidia*, sacred to Tellus (April 15). I can offer no explanation, unless we assume that the *ludi Cereris* were very different in nature from the other Games. One may be tempted to consider the strong plebeian link of the cult of Ceres and her Aventine temple as a possible reason. The Games may have been conceived as merely political in the first place and, when they were established (in the fifth century?),[162] perhaps as 'opposed' to the age-old *ludi Romani*. An indication in this direction may be the fact that they were held by the plebeian aediles (whose existence dates back to the beginning of the fifth century B.C.);[163] and that plebeian families (under explicit exclusion of the patricians) invited each other to dinner during the Games (or possibly on the last day, the *Cerialia* in the strict sense).[164] One may then speculate that after, or on the occasion of, the eventual compromise achieved by the Orders in the fourth century, the Games changed both date and addressee, and were now celebrated in November by the entire Roman people as *ludi plebei*, sacred to Iuppiter (while the old Games of Ceres were not abolished). One should bear in mind that the *ludi plebei* appear in historical records for the first

[161] Wiseman 1998, 42f.; Wiseman 2000, 113.

[162] *Pace* e.g. Bernstein 1998, 83, 163–165 who proposes a date late in the third century.

[163] Bernstein 1998, 82f., 164.

[164] Gell. 18.2.11: *patricii Megalensibus mutitare soliti sint, plebes Cerealibus.*

time as late as 216 B.C., while the Games of Ceres are attested almost simultaneously, i.e. in 202 B.C., for the first time.[165]

Most major Republican Games show a remarkable connection with temple anniversaries of the relevant gods. Normally, the last day of the Games coincided with the temple anniversary of the god to whom the Games were dedicated. This is the case with the *ludi Megalenses* (April 10), which was also the anniversary of the temple of Magna Mater, and this may similarly have been the case with the last day of the *ludi Apollinares* (July 13), possibly the original anniversary of the temple of Apollo Medicus.[166] The last day of the *ludi Ceriales*, a 'fixed day' sacred to the goddess (*Cerialia*, April 19) was simultaneously the anniversary of her Aventine temple. By contrast, the anniversary of the temple of Flora fell on the *first* day of the *ludi Florales* (April 28). Games of Hercules Magnus, perhaps officially established by Sulla, are likely to have been connected with the anniversary of the temple in the Circus Maximus (June 4).[167] Last but not least, the anniversary of the Capitoline temple fell *within* the *ludi Romani* (September 13). This meant that all public Games until the victory Games of Sulla, established in 82 B.C., were directly linked to a specific temple via its anniversary. This tendency may well have continued in the Empire, for there is a reasonable chance that the temple of Mars Ultor was dedicated by Augustus on May 12 in 2 B.C., a day on which *ludi Martiales* are attested.[168] Temporal foci such as temple anniversaries and Games were thus combined in these cases in order to reinforce each other.

It is not exactly clear to what extent the 'announced holidays' (*feriae conceptivae*) were adjusted to the pattern of the 'fixed holidays' (*feriae stativae*). We may tentatively turn to the sacrifice to Dea Dia, whose shifting dates are known from 21 B.C. onward thanks to the survival of the acts of the arvals. We find that during the imperial period the sacrifice to Dea Dia was performed either on May 17, 19, 20 or on May 27, 29, 30, i.e. on days that were not occupied by another god according to the Republican *feriale*. Even in the very few cases where the acts mention other dates for the festival, these dates do not as a rule coincide with the 'fixed holidays' of the Republican calendar. However, there may be one exception: the sacrifice to Dea Dia in 66 A.D. was

[165] *Ludi plebei*: Liv. 23.30.17; *ludi Ceriales*: 30.29.8.
[166] Thus, tentatively, Wissowa 1912, 295 n. 5.
[167] Wiseman 2000, esp. 112.
[168] Herz 1996, 275–277.

performed, for whatever reason, on July 17–19–20, even though July 19 according to the *Fasti Antiates Maiores* was a fixed holiday (*Lucaria*).[169] The obscurity of the deity involved may be the reason for pontifical indifference. However, one should be careful not to draw far-reaching conclusions from this seeming exception. The sacrifice to Dea Dia was a specific ceremony rather than a 'holiday' (*feriae*),[170] and the information afforded by the acts started in or around 21 B.C.; there is therefore no direct link to the pre-Caesarian calendar, as represented by the *Fasti Antiates Maiores*. On the other hand, if the imperial dates of the sacrifice to Dea Dia did indeed take account of the Republican calendar, the manner of calculating them may actually be much older.[171]

'Private holidays' did not follow the pattern of 'public holidays'. For instance, they could fall on an even day, such as the *Caristia* (or *Cara Cognatio*) on February 22. Or they could coincide with other 'public holidays'. One may refer to the *Parentalia*, the 'holidays' of the *di parentes*, which began on February 13 with a sacrifice by a vestal virgin and ended with the *Feralia* on February 21. The *Parentalia*, therefore, included the Ides (February 13), sacred to Iuppiter, and the *Lupercalia* (February 15), which were sacred to Faunus. One may wish to argue that the participation of the vestals here indicates a public cult. But the very name and nature of the *parentalia* (referring to one's ancestors) suggest otherwise. Only the last day of the *Parentalia*, the *Feralia*, were *feriae publicae*.[172]

The number of days in a calendar year was limited. Since the day was the basic unit for temporal foci of Roman gods, an overlap of such foci became inevitable over time. As in other areas, the Caesarian era forms a watershed here. When Caesar's victory Games (dedicated to Venus Victrix) were established from July 20–30 in 46 B.C., they included no less than three 'fixed holidays', the second day of the *Lucaria* on July 21, the *Neptunalia* on July 23 and the *Furrinalia* on July 25. The Games were not connected to any temple anniversary, not even to that

[169] For a list of the exact dates of the sacrifice see Scheid 1990, 453f. The sacrifice to Dea Dia was performed on June 3–4 in 20 B.C. [no 'fixed holidays' in the Republican calendar], around June 1 in 40 A.D. [no 'holidays'], and on May 25–28 in 90 A.D. [again no 'holidays'].

[170] Scheid 1990, 457, 475f.

[171] The archaeological evidence for the priesthood dates back at least to the fourth century B.C., Scheid 1990, 680f.

[172] Radke 1963, 318–325.

of Venus Genetrix, although her temple was dedicated just two months after the establishment of the Games (September 26).[173]

Technically speaking, it was Caesar's authority as *pontifex maximus* that entitled him to interfere with hoary traditions of temporal focalization. He put his powers to good use during his famous calendary reforms.[174] Similarly, Caesar's imperial successors were all *pontifices maximi*, and all made similar use of their powers to tamper with the inherited Republican calendar. It is a fact that between 38 B.C. and 17 A.D. at least fourteen temples, which had been restored, had their *dies natalis* changed, some with the clear objective of 'synchronizing' their anniversary with an imperial holiday or other important imperial events.[175] In contrast, temporal foci of the imperial cult, especially of the cult of Augustus, could influence the choice of imperial 'holidays'. For instance, Caligula accepted the title *pater patriae*, bestowed on him by the senate, on September 21, perhaps having in mind the temporal closeness to Augustus' official deification on September 17 as well as to Augustus' birthday on September 23. In the same vein, Caligula dedicated the temple of Divus Augustus on August 30, a day before his own birthday. It was hardly by chance that the posthumous consecration of Livia, Augustus' spouse, and her wedding anniversary with the princeps, as well as the dedication of the altar of the *numen Augustum* by Tiberius all fall on the same date, January 17.[176]

However, the emperor had the power not only to add, but also to remove 'fixed' holidays. Caligula abolished two Augustan 'holidays',[177] Claudius rescinded even more imperial *feriae*, "for the greater part of the year was given up to them."[178] In 70 A.D., a senatorial commission was set up in order to purge the overloaded calendar of unwanted or outdated 'holidays'.[179] During the same period, the arvals, no doubt

[173] Cf. Bernstein 2007, 231f.
[174] Feeney 2007b, 197.
[175] Gros 1976, 32–35; cf. Herz 1996, 278. Feeney 2007b, 154 is wrong when he claims that Augustus' anniversary coincided with the foundation date of the temple of Apollo Medicus. The latter's date was July 13, the last day of the *Ludi Apollinares*. The coincidence of the anniversary of a temple of Apollo and Augustus' birthday, as attested by imperial calendars, is certainly due to deliberate synchronization, either after rededication of the old temple of Apollo Medicus after restoration, or on the occasion of the dedication of a new temple to Apollo Sosianus (cf. Degrassi 1963, 482, 512).
[176] Scheid 1990, 390f., 422.
[177] Suet. *Calig.* 23.1 with Scheid 1990, 420f.
[178] Dio 60.17.1.
[179] Tac. *Hist.* 4.40.

following imperial directives, restricted sacrifices on behalf of the emperor.[180]

Generally speaking, during the imperial period, the clearly defined temporal foci of a number of the most important Republican gods lost their distinctive focal nature thanks to the infiltration of the imperial cult and its disintegrative impact.

* * *

There were no competing modes of time-reckoning in the Republic to any significant degree. Even cults that were considered a threat to society, such as the cult of Bacchus at the beginning of the second century B.C., appear to have adhered to the traditional *fasti*, albeit with some unavoidable modifications in detail due to specific ritual requirements (initiations etc.). During the Augustan period and perhaps earlier, Magna Mater was officially worshipped on March 27 (*lavatio*), a day still vacant on the festive calendar, apart from her temple anniversary and Games held at the beginning of March (see above).

During the imperial period, this situation changed dramatically. Competing systems of time-reckoning emerged which ignored the temporal foci of traditional gods. For instance, from the first century A.D. the official worship of Magna Mater was gradually extended to a cycle of six days that included March 15, 22, 24–27. The cycle took no longer account of the 'fixed holidays' of Iuppiter and Anna Perenna on March 15 or the *Tubilustrium* of Mars on March 23. One may also refer to the Christian time-reckoning, which was revolutionary in replacing the Republican week consisting of eight days (*nundinum*) by the hebdomadal week with Sunday as the basic temporal focus, quite apart from the fact that all Christian temporal foci referred more or less to a single annual event, namely Easter Sunday.

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Despite the dearth of relevant material for the city of Rome itself, it is a fair guess that the lunar calendar of the Jews was still in use even in profane matters in the Roman period (in religious matters it never lost its importance), and perhaps was instrumentalized as a token of Jewishness in opposition to the Julian solar calendar. At least, such a deliberate instrumentalization can be plausibly postulated in the case

[180] Wissowa 1912, 346; Scheid 1990, 428f.

of the Jews of the eastern Empire, in order to effect and advertise cultural distinctiveness.[181] Besides, Jews everywhere—and hence also in Rome—observed biblical festivals, most characteristically the Sabbath.[182] The latter was a common target of pagan mockery,[183] although it was explicitly tolerated by Augustus and Tiberius.[184]

Let us turn to the Christians. Sunday was already of special importance for the community in the first century A.D. It became the firmly established date of the weekly celebrated eucharist not later than the second century A.D., perhaps in deliberate contraposition to Judaism.[185] At the same time the observance of the Sabbath lost its importance among the Christians, especially in the West. The observance of Sunday became all the more a genuine mark of distinction from Judaism and was eagerly advertised by the Christians as such.[186] It was rendered compulsory by Constantine in 321 A.D.[187]

Easter was the only *annual* festival celebrated consistently by Christians during the first three centuries. It developed from the Jewish Pascha, since it was during this period that Jesus had died, according to the canonical scriptures. What remained in doubt was the question how the date of Easter should be calculated. On this question, the Roman see took a position against the Christian communities of Asia and Syria.[188]

The relative lack of temporal foci in the Christian church during the first three centuries of its existence, apart from the observance of Sunday and Easter, is undeniably impressive. It is only partly compensated for by the veneration of defunct bishops and martyrs which began to develop in the capital from the middle of the third century A.D. onwards.[189] Such memorial cycles and martyrologies are first attested by two famous sections of burials (so-called 'depositions') of bishops and martyrs in the *Calendar of Philocalus*, listing the dates of death of

[181] Stern 2002; cf. Stern 2001, 42–46.
[182] Lightstone 2007, 363–365.
[183] Gruen 2002, 48f.
[184] Phil. *Leg.* 155–158 with McKay 1994, 71–73.
[185] Messner 2003, 366–370.
[186] McKay 1994, 176–200; Messner 2003, 370–372.
[187] *Cod. Iust.* 3.12.2; *Cod. Theod.* 2.8.1.
[188] Strobel 1977, 374–377; Messner 2003, 372–382.
[189] Heid 2007, 410–412.

the bishops of Rome and Roman martyrs from the mid-third to the mid-fourth century A.D.[190]

If we want to characterize the conceptualization of the 'divine' in relation to the constituent concept of time in more general terms, we have to begin with the observation that there was a clear line between those days in the calendar that served this conceptualization (*feriae*) and those that did not. The relation of the various *feriae publicae* to each other was—generally speaking—well defined and restrictive (e.g. 'fixed holidays' on uneven days, no 'fixed holidays' on successive days, etc.). These definitions applied to all divine concepts alike and thus reflect the same lack of individuality of temporal foci as was the case in the employment of spatial foci: for instance, just as the formation of 'Iuppiter' was spatially marked by the size of his temple rather than its architecture and layout, so too it was temporally marked by the number of 'holidays', not the rituals performed on them. As in the case of spatial conceptualization, we find in the calendar a sharp distinction between divine and human concepts, while within the category of 'divinity' all gods were treated as *essentially* being the same. This balance was challenged by the imperial cult, which actually blurred the existing dichotomy between 'divine' and 'human'. By doing so, it became a much more disintegrative force than, say, most foreign divine concepts which arrived in Rome in the imperial period. For the latter did not come anywhere close to challenging the dichotomy between 'divinity' and 'humanity' in terms of their temporal conceptualization. Christianity, of course, differed, on this as on other points. As indicated by Beard,[191] while the pagan calendar was 'polycentric', i.e. a conglomeration of various temporal foci unrelated to each other, the Christian calendar centered around one single historical event, the crucifixion of Jesus on Nisan 14. Gradually, the whole Christian year was constituted around this date. Both in its 'monocentric' outlook and in its emphasis on a specific moment of human history (Jesus' death), it differed substantially from all modes of temporal conceptualization of the divine known up to then in the Mediterranean.

[190] Salzman 1990, 42–47.
[191] Beard 2003.

3. *Personnel*

Roman gods were conceptualized not only by spatial and temporal foci, but also by the people who administered these foci. To speak of 'personnel foci' here and not simply of priests has the advantage of moving away from such notions as 'status' or 'profession' towards 'concepts'. This is necessary, because in conceptual terms there was no fundamental difference between, say, a *flamen* or any random citizen when offering a sacrifice or reciting a prayer. By repeating cultic actions within specific spatial and temporal settings, both groups 'recreated' the same (or at least a very similar) divine concept, though of course in completely different ways.[192]

As far as the term 'priest' is concerned, the discussion among scholars about whether the term can be adequately applied to Roman conditions has, in my view, been both futile and damaging. Futile, because *no* complex concept, expressed in any language, can fully render the notion of *any* complex concept of another language (for our purpose, one may compare the lack of a Greek equivalent to Latin *divus*). Damaging, because it suggests that this can be done in cases other than the concept of 'priest'. The term 'priest' remains a useful makeshift expression for a personnel focus of a cult that, with the explicit and normally canonized approval of a number of people, acts in specific religious matters as a *representative* of these people.

Roman priesthoods may be conveniently divided into official and unofficial priesthoods. Official priests served to establish and maintain good relations between the gods and the state. They acted on behalf of the state and were controlled by the senate and later the emperor. In addition, official priesthoods were unpaid, with the position carrying considerable prestige. On the other hand, unofficial priests dealt with relations between the individual and the divine. Their ultimate goal was to satisfy personal needs, and they were paid in kind or in money. Unofficial priests could perform functions from self-appointed magicians and prophets, to respectable specialists in recognized though unofficial cults or observational techniques. The former category was the domain of the Greek "pseudo-priest and fortune-teller" (*sacrificulus et*

[192] For the various aspects of the term 'priest' in Rome *FS* III, 1405–1418; Scheid 2003a, 129–132.

vates)[193] who introduced the ill-omened cult of Bacchus to Rome which ultimately led to the Bacchanalian affair in 186 B.C.; or Licinius, mentioned in Cicero's *Miloniana*, who made a living from performing purificatory rites for families in grief;[194] among the latter category, we may count the Etruscan soothsayers (*haruspices*), who regularly served both individual magistrates and the state as a whole for the interpretation of portents, although this was of an unofficial nature.[195]

The two most important sacerdotal colleges in the Republic were the pontifical college (*collegium pontificale*), headed by the *pontifex maximus*, and the augural college (*collegium augurum*). Both colleges, whatever their origin, kept their autonomy throughout Roman history. During the Republic, their independence was marked by the existence of separate archives,[196] by the fact that the augurship, once bestowed upon a candidate, could not be taken away from him, even if the incumbent went into exile or was otherwise convicted,[197] as well as by the fact that the augur was not subject to the directives of the *pontifex maximus*.[198] In other words, the functions of pontifical college and augurate are to be kept strictly apart.[199]

In the Republic, the personnel focalization of official cults is strongest in the case of the *flamines*, i.e. the official priests, each of whom was in charge of the official cult of a specific god in the city. Later *flamines* took charge also of the cult of the emperor, thus implying that the *flamen* was considered to be the individual priest of a deity *par excellence* (in marked contrast to the priestly colleges). It suffices here to refer to their most important representative in the Republic, the *flamen* of Iuppiter. Like this god among official gods, his priest ranked highest among the *flamines*, second only to the *rex sacrorum* in the oldest known priestly hier-

[193] Liv. 39.8.3.

[194] Cic. *Mil.* 65; Ascon. *Cic. Mil.* 45 with Bömer 1981, 58f.; in general Scheid 2003a, 124–126 on private divination.

[195] North 2000, 94–100; Horster 2007, 336–338.

[196] For augural archives see Linderski 1986, 2241–2256; Giovannini 1998; Vaahtera 2002.

[197] Augurs: Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 99 [= 287 D–E]; Plin. *ep.* 4.8.1. Similar in the case of the arval brethren: Plin. *nat.* 18.6.

[198] Wissowa 1912, 523.

[199] The involvement of the pontiffs in the *augurium canarium* does not contradict this statement, for here the pontiffs conducted the sacrifice only, cf. Wissowa 1912, 196f., 524; *pace* Catalano 1960, 351.

archy.[200] His wife, the *flaminica,* performed ritual functions and therefore complemented her husband's role.[201] The *flaminica* was perhaps priestess of Iuno (who had no *flamen*).[202] This explains why the *flamen Dialis* was not allowed to divorce, why the *flaminica* was permitted to marry only once (*univira*), and why her husband had to lay down his priesthood on her death: for together, *flamen Dialis* and *flaminica* represented the divine duality Iuppiter and Iuno. Apart from that, the various, partly abstruse restrictions imposed upon the *flamen Dialis* enhanced the focal character of his priesthood, in that they deprived him of the opportunity to lead an ordinary life and to participate in that of others. In other words, his enforced social isolation led to an increase in and emphasis on this personnel focus of the concept of Iuppiter.

Naturally, unofficial cults display the same personnel focalization. Let us take the example of the cult of Bacchus in *ca.* 200 B.C. Initially, this cult was administered by women alone. Matrons were chosen in turn as priestesses (*sacerdotes*).[203] This status was not affected by the Tiriolo decree, which was issued by the senate against the cult in 186 B.C., for in it both the existence of female followers (*Bacchae*) and that of female priests (*sacerdotes*) were implicitly granted.[204] After reforms in *ca.* 210 B.C., male initiates had started to participate in the cult[205] and the office of 'master' (*magister*) had presumably been created. By the time of the Tiriolo decree, men were on an equal footing with women, either as priests (*sacerdotes*) or 'masters' (*magistri*).[206] Livy even indicates the existence of a priestly hierarchy (*maximi sacerdotes*), but it is not clear whether this hierarchy was based on personal prestige or distinct sacerdotal competences.[207] It is reasonable to assume that priests performed initiations and sacrifices in the presence of other cult members.[208] The 'masters' also attended to sacrifices.[209] However, their main concern was presumably the administration of common funds,

[200] Fest. 198.29–202.4 [L] with Vanggaard 1988, 27f. But all *flamines* were submitted to the disciplinary authority of the *pontifex maximus*, see Vanggaard 1988, 56–58.
[201] Cf. in general Schultz 2006, 79–81, 142.
[202] Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 86, *pace* e.g. Pötscher 1968, 238f.
[203] Liv. 39.13.8, 39.15.9.
[204] *CIL* I² 581, lines 7, 10.
[205] Liv. 39.13.9.
[206] *CIL* I² 581, lines 10–12, cf. Liv. 39.14.7.
[207] Liv. 39.17.7; priesthoods may not normally have been organised according to age (Rüpke 2002, 59), but corporations were (see below).
[208] *CIL* I² 581, lines 15f., 19–21 with Liv. 39.10.7; 39.18.3,9.
[209] Liv. 39.18.9: *magister sacrorum*.

apparently contributed by adherents of the cult.[210] The whole structure, especially the existence of *magistri* and the participation of both slaves and freemen in the cult, is strongly reminiscent of corporations (*collegia*) that often rallied around a specific god.[211]

Any increase in ritual duties may lead to a specialization of duties. This tendency towards specialization is particularly tangible in the case of the personnel foci of the cults of oriental gods in Rome, such as that of Iuppiter Dolichenus or Isis. Let us take the case of Isis.[212] Initially, we hear only of priests in general. A first-century B.C. inscription from the Capitoline region provides proof of the existence of a male or possibly female priest (*sacerdos*) of Isis Capitolina, possibly in connection with other adherents or even functionaries of the cult.[213] A priest of Isis Capitolina also appears in a later inscription, dating to the end of the first century A.D. at the very latest.[214] Some literary sources imply the presence of male Isiac priests, possibly on the Capitol, in 43 B.C., while others do so for the year 69 A.D.[215] Ovid knows of the appearance of the priests (but he would not necessarily have learnt about them from Rome).[216] The only witness to a possible specialization among the personnel foci of the cult of Isis at this early stage is Apuleius (writing in the second century A.D.). He claims that already under Sulla a congregration of Isiacs, the *pastophori*, was established in the capital.[217] However, relevant inscriptional evidence is lacking.[218]

It is in the second century A.D. and later, with the rising number of adherents to Isis, and under more favorable political conditions, that manifold specialized priesthoods of the goddesss emerge, which were as a rule modelled on Egyptian conditions. Most important, perhaps, is the existence of a 'high-priest' (*prophetes*) in Rome in the first half of

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[210] *CIL* I² 581, lines 10, 12 with Liv. 39.18.9.
[211] North 2003, 210f. with chapter IV.2.
[212] For Iuppiter Dolichenus see Merlat 1960, 190–197; *FS* III, 1537–1546.
[213] *SIRIS* no. 377 with Takács 1995, 51–56; Versluys 2004, 426.
[214] *SIRIS* no. 378, for the date see Versluys 2004, 427. See also *SIRIS* no. 408. For the *sacerdotes* see Malaise 1972a, 127f. Male priests of Isis and other Egyptian gods, with their characteristically shaved head, are attested in Roman portraiture from as early as the first quarter of the first century B.C., but these may possibly be Egyptian imports, cf. Schweitzer 1948, 76f. with fig. 49, 93 = 107, 100 = 104 = 108.
[215] Val. Max. 7.3.8; App. *B.C.* 4.47; Tac. *Hist.* 3.74; Suet. *Dom.* 1.2.
[216] Ov. *met.* 1.747; Iuv. 6.533 al.
[217] Apul. *met.* 11.30.
[218] *SIRIS* no. 433 (2nd–3rd century). For the *pastophori* in general see Malaise 1972a, 128–130.

the second century A.D. He appears epigraphically and is also depicted, for instance, on a relief along with the keeper of the holy books (*hierogrammateus*) and an unspecified priestess of Isis (*sacerdos*). The relief was found in the capital and dates from the Hadrianic period.[219] One may add the 'astromoner' (*horoscopus*), who, as with the keeper of the holy books, is known from Rome only by representations in visual art,[220] as well as the 'singers' (*paianistes*),[221] and possibly those 'who dressed the divine statues' (*stolistai*), though there is as yet no direct evidence for the existence of the latter in Italy.[222] Next, there are the *pausarii*, performing *pausae*, perhaps some ritual 'stops' during Isiac processions.[223] This increase of priesthoods, i.e. of personnel foci of the cult of Isis, allowed a much larger number of people to actively participate in it. It is thus an indicator both of the increase in popularity and at the same time of the gradual Egyptianization of the cult.

On the other hand, specialization of personnel foci could lead to a secondary connection with the cults of specific gods. Therefore, the augurs, originally clearly without a specific link to any god, became 'priests' of Iuppiter because of one of the main areas of their expertise, viz. defining space in the heavens.[224] One may also refer to the *III/VII/Xviri epulones* and the *II/X/XVviri sacris faciundis*. Both priesthoods grew out of special duties of the pontifical college, the former, to organise the two sumptuous feasts held on the occasion of the *ludi plebei* and the *ludi Romani*, the latter, to consult the Sibylline Books. Since the Games were connected to Iuppiter and the Sibylline books to Apollo, they were later interpreted as personnel foci of the cult of Iuppiter and Apollo respectively. But the cult of Apollo was a nonentity until the Augustan

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[219] For the *prophetes* see Malaise 1972a, 115–117, for the *hierogrammateus* see Malaise 1972a, 119f., for the *sacerdos* see above; for the relief, now in the Vatican, see Malaise 1972, 234f. no. 441.

[220] Malaise 1972a, 120f.

[221] *SIRIS* no. 384 with Vidman 1970, 63f., Malaise 1972a, 121f.

[222] Malaise 1972a, 118f.

[223] Cf. *SIRIS* no. 400 (1st–2nd century A.D.) with Malaise 1972a, 105f., 130. A 'keeper of the temple' (*aeditumus*) of Isis may possibly be referred to once in Rome, but both the date and the exact meaning of the inscription are in doubt (*SIRIS* no. 387). Furthermore, we hear of *hierodouloi* (*SIRIS* no. 375) and *neokoroi* (*SIRIS* no. 406) in Rome, but both belong to the worship of Sarapis, Malaise 1972a, 131–135, for the *neokoroi* also Vidman 1970, 58–61. For other depictions of Isiac priests from Rome see the procession on a column of the Iseum Campense with Malaise 1972a, 125f. and in general Malaise 1970, 368 s.v. *prêtres et fidèles (statues et reliefs)*.

[224] For the augurs cf. Cic. *Phil.* 13.12 *interpretes internuntiique Iovis Optimi Maximi*, Cic. *leg.* 2.20 *interpretes Iovis Optimi Maximi*.

age and would by no means have justified the existence of an independent priesthood until then. This clearly proves that the *II/X/XVviri* did not begin as personnel foci of the Apollonian cult.

The divinity of the emperor was, as I have repeatedly suggested, modelled on that of the traditional gods. This suggestion is further supported by the aspect of personnel focalization. Augustus, for example, received a *flamen* after his death in 14 A.D.,[225] deliberately avoiding the dire Caesarian precedent of a *flamen* during his lifetime.[226] Augustus' *flamen* was the first in a long series of *flamines* of divinized emperors in Rome until the third century A.D. At least until the end of the Julio-Claudian era, the imperial flaminate in Rome remained the domain of the imperial family.[227] However, not all *divi* actually received a separate *flamen*: at least one *flamen* officiating a joint worship of Divus Iulius and Divus Augustus is on record.[228]

Interestingly, as in the case of other important gods, the cult of the deified Augustus focused on more than one priest. Thus, Livia became Augustus' priestess in 14 A.D. The circumstances under which this happened clearly indicate competences of the new priestess far beyond a mere private cult. Her priesthood was presumably modelled on the vestal virgins, though its exact status remains obscure.[229] Better known is the association (*sodalitas*) of *Augustales*, established by Tiberius in 14 A.D. It consisted of twenty-one Roman aristocrats chosen by lot, to whom members of the imperial family were added. The association was not bound to the individual emperor, but to his *gens*. In the same vein, comparable associations were linked to other imperial dynasties (*sodales Flaviales, Hadrianales, Antoniani*).[230] Tiberius had made it crystal-clear that the *sodales Augustales* were not on an equal footing with other official priesthoods such as the pontiffs. Rather, the former were exclusively priests of the imperial family (*proprium eius domus sacerdotium*).[231] But the very fact that such an explicit ruling was necessary, apart from

[225] Wissowa 1912, 521f.

[226] Cic. *Phil.* 2.110; Dio 44.6.4 with Weinstock 1971, 305–308. For the outward appearance of the imperial *flamen* see Fishwick II.1, 475–481.

[227] Tac. *Ann.* 2.83 with Lewis 1955, 80.

[228] Scheid 1978, 650.

[229] Tac. *ann.* 1.14; Dio 56.46.1; Weber 1936, 92*f. [n. 427, referring to p. 97 of the main text]; Fishwick I, 162f.

[230] Tac. *hist.* 2.95; *ann.* 1.54; Dio 56.46.1 with Scheid 1978, 618, 648f.; Price 1987, 78f.; *FS* III, 1589–1593; Scheid 2003a, 138–141.

[231] Tac. *ann.* 3.64 with Scheid 1990, 257f.

the reappearance of the *sodalitas* in connection with the four major priesthoods in 31 A.D., sufficiently demonstrates their focal character in the imperial cult.[232]

It is more likely than not that the *flamines*, as we know them in the historical period, reflect the individual personnel foci of an early, prehistorical stage of the Roman pantheon. This means that originally they focused on the cult of a single god, as is indicated by their name (e.g. the *flamen Dialis* as the priest of Iuppiter). Conversely, we may postulate that originally, official rites to gods that possessed a *flamen* were performed predominantly or exclusively by this priest.

Entering the historical period, this personnel focalization of a number of cults was somewhat blurred. Members of the pontifical college could stand in for each other. For instance, the pontiffs could replace the *flamen Dialis* apparently in all or most of his functions (and presumably had to do so during the long vacancy of this office from 87 to 11 B.C.).[233] Furthermore, Tellus received sacrifices from both the *flamen Cerialis* and the pontiffs,[234] and the *flamen Dialis* was perhaps involved in the *Lupercalia*, i.e. the cult of Faunus.[235] Similarly, the *flamen Quirinalis* performed rites for Robigus[236] and Consus (along with the vestals).[237] True, most of the deities concerned did not have a specific priest, and therefore priests of other deities had to help out. However, there is reliable information that the *flamen Portunalis* was involved in the cult of Quirinus (who demonstrably had his own *flamen*),[238] that the *flaminica Dialis* was somehow connected to the cult of Mars (who likewise had a *flamen* and presumably also a *flaminica Martialis*)[239] during the ritual of 'moving the *ancilia*'.[240]

Some scholars may want to argue that this functional diffusion actually indicates that the *flamines* did not form personnel foci of specific gods before the introduction of the imperial *flamines* after Caesar's death. In their view, the major priests, including the *flamines*, belong to no particular cult, and have no particular responsibility for the rituals

[232] Dio 58.12.5, cf. Gradel 2002, 276–279.
[233] Tac. *ann.* 3.58.2.
[234] DServ. *georg.* 1.21; Varro *antiqu.* frg. 266 [Cardauns].
[235] Ov. *fast.* 2.282 with Ulf 1982, 54–58.
[236] Ov. *fast.* 4.910.
[237] Tert. *de spect.* 5.7.
[238] Fest. 238.7–9 [L].
[239] Vanggaard 1988, 30f.
[240] Ov. *fast.* 3.395–398.

or spaces of any particular cult rather than for those of *all* the cults. According to this line of reasoning, the colleges are divided by functions (*auspicia, sacra*, war and peace, prophecy etc.), not deities. They may accuse me of arbitrarily constructing an early Rome or a pre-Roman Rome in which all was rational and consistent, implying a steady process of centuries of decline and confusion, as the élite became either negligent or sceptical or both.

I am ready to concede that the initial degree of focalization of the *flamines* cannot be determined accurately. Still, I hold that this degree must have been considerable, for a number of reasons. To begin with terminology, all *flamines* are determined by an adjective indicating the divine concept with which they were connected (*flamen Dialis, Martialis* etc.). They are the only priestly college endowed with such markers of focalization. Second, some of the *flamines* thus determined were connected to very *central* deities of the later pantheon (e.g. Iuppiter, Mars). They ought not therefore to be considered accidental ingredients of an existing pantheon, but constituent elements. Third, some minor *flamines*, such as the *flamen Falacer* or the *flamen Furrinalis* (only Varro *ling.* 5.84; 7.45 [Ennius]) were connected to gods that had virtually disappeared from the Roman pantheon already in the Republic. The preservation of their names can be explained only on the assumption that these names concealed meanings relevant to the differentiation among the *flamines* themselves. Fourth, had the flamines been in charge of all or a large number of cults, the subdivisions of this group in *flamines maiores* (to which the non-patricians never gained access in the Republic) and *minores*, and the setting aside of the *flamen Dialis* by taboo regulations, would hardly make sense. It is much more plausible to assume that these subdivisions are based on a latent divine hierarchy, at the top of which stood the triad of Iuppiter, Mars and Quirinus, with Iuppiter heading the ensemble. One should also bear in mind that as their name ('bridge-builders') suggests the later sacrificial priests *par excellence*, the pontiffs, did not start as religious personnel at all. It is fair to conclude that the *flamines* came into being as the sacrificial priests of specific gods, or groups of gods, which were conceptualized as a unity for some reason. As for inconsistencies, one should bear in mind that in this book we speak of personnel foci, whereby focalization implies emphasis, not exclusiveness.

As to the subsequent 'decline' and 'confusion', these notions are misleading in so far as they presuppose rigidity and inalterability of concepts. By contrast, this book takes the view that concepts are *constantly*

derived and developed from each other. This fact offers a precise explanation of some of the inconsistencies. For instance, the fact that Tellus received sacrifices from the *flamen Cerialis* may be explained by the similar functional focus of Ceres and Tellus as chthonic fertility deities. When we hear that the *flamen Quirinalis* officiated rites for Robigus, this statement becomes less surprising if we consider that the Games held at the Robigalia were dedicated to Mars and Robigus[241] and bear in mind the observation that the functions of Mars and Quirinus as martial gods were almost identical. The same common denominator of the concept of 'war' may explain the substitution of the *flaminica* of Mars for the *flaminica* of Iuppiter during the martial ritual of 'moving the *ancilia*'. Of course, due to the lack of evidence it is rarely possible to trace back the conceptual string with certainty. But the conceptual approach allows for a state of flux.

A particularly enlightening case showing such interaction of a personnel focus of the cult of a god with that of other gods is the *flamen Quirinalis*. The priesthood of the *flamen Quirinalis* was allegedly created by Numa and belonged to the privileged group of three *flamines maiores* (next to the *flamines* of Iuppiter and Mars), i.e. patrician *flamines* who had to be married by *confarreatio*, as opposed to the twelve plebeian *flamines minores*.[242] In fact, the *flamen Quirinalis* was fourth in place in the oldest known priestly hierarchy and ranked ahead of the *pontifex maximus*.[243]

The office of the *flamen Quirinalis* must then have been prestigious in the early period of Roman religion, when the god was in the heyday of his powers.[244] At some unknown, but certainly early stage, his fortune changed. The reason was no doubt functional competition with Mars.[245] The latter occupied a paramount place as the god of war *par excellence* (along with other competences) in Rome as well as other parts of central Italy. The early symbiosis of both Quirinus and Mars is

[241] Ter. *de spect*. 5.8.

[242] Gaius 1.112, Paul. Fest. 137.1f. [L]; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.110; *Liv.* 1.20.2; Plut. *Numa* 7.4 [Loeb].

[243] Fest. 198.29–200.4 [L].

[244] See also chapter IV.1.

[245] This competition, characterized by the lack of a clear demarcation between the competences of the two, was well known in Rome in the first century B.C., cf. Dion. Hal. *ant.* 2.48.2. Later theological systematization made Quirinus the god of the absence of war, Mars the god of its presence. This or a similar distinction seems to lie behind Serv. *Aen.* 1.292 and 6.859.

manifested by the existence of the two colleges of Salii, one belonging to Quirinus and located on the Quirinal (⇒ *Salii Collini/Agonenses*), the other belonging to Mars and stationed on the Palatine (⇒ *Salii Palatini*, later located in the temple of Mars Ultor).[246] Although the institution of Salii itself is not peculiar to Rome,[247] the parallel existence of two such colleges, with apparently identical cultic functions but completely different cult locations and traditions, is. It finds its most natural explanation in the assumption that, at some stage, the two priestly colleges operated independently. Possibly one was the college of the people of the Quirinal (and Viminal), the other was the college of the other hills. Such a bipartite structure may well reflect the organization of the old city, which appears to have been divided into Quirinal and Viminal on the one hand and the remaining hills on the other (Palatine etc.).[248]

Being in competition with Mars, the cult of Quirinus gradually declined.[249] This development affected the institution of the *flamen Quirinalis*. The priest lost power and prestige. We cannot know for certain whether the (unofficial) identification of Quirinus with Romulus was, in fact, fabricated by the priests of Quirinus as a response to this loss. However, once it began to circulate at the beginning of the second century B.C. or slightly later, the priests of Quirinus had more than one reason to promote and advertise it.[250] For Quirinus thus received a new, well-defined sphere of competences as the founder of Rome and the son rather than competitor of Mars, the god of war. Such an identification with Romulus was all the more suggestive, in that Romulus did not possess a specific priest of his own.

We may be able to identify the creator or at least a fervent promotor of the identification of Quirinus with Romulus. Q. Fabius Pictor, son of the historian, was *flamen Quirinalis* from 190 to 167 B.C. and the most famous incumbent of this office. He appears repeatedly in Livy in his capacity as *flamen*, most notably on the occasion of his dispute

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[246] For the Salii at the temple of Mars Ultor see Herz 1996, 266–268.

[247] Geiger 1920, col. 1893f.

[248] Cornell 1995, 74f.

[249] Cf. e.g. the fact that the Salii are mentioned in the Roman calendar exclusively in connection with the festivals of Mars. Koch 1960, 20 suggests that some of these festivals at least must originally have belonged to Quirinus.

[250] The first, albeit indirect, witness is Enn. *ann.* 110f. [Sk] with Fishwick I, 53f. (with further references), *contra* e.g. Skutsch 1968, 130–137; Skutsch 1985, 245–247; Jocelyn 1989, 45. The first direct witness for the identification is Cicero, so Cic. *rep.* 2.20; *leg.* 1.3, 2.19; *off.* 3.41; *nat. deor.* 2.62.

with the *pontifex maximus* P. Licinius: Flavius had been appointed to the praetorship in Sardinia but had to resign from the post due to religious constraints after intervention by Licinius (Flavius became *praetor peregrinus* instead). Still, the impression Flavius made was lasting, so lasting that his grandson, the moneyer N. Fabius Pictor, issued a denarius in 126 B.C., depicting his grandfather as *flamen*.[251] Both the chronological framework and the apparent political ambitions of Q. Fabius Pictor would make him a suitable exponent for the identification of Quirinus with Romulus.

Whatever the case may be, the identification of Quirinus with Romulus remained unofficial, at least until the Augustan age. This is implied by the fact that until then, at least, sacrifices to Romulus continued to be performed by the pontiffs and not by the *flamen Quirinalis*. Rituals at the 'hut' of Romulus were still conducted by the pontiffs in 38 B.C., although the flaminate of Quirinus was occupied until at least 46 B.C. (though a later vacancy cannot be excluded).[252] In the same vein, Acca Larentia, foster-mother of Romulus and Remus according to widespread beliefs circulating from the first half of the first century B.C.,[253] received regular sacrifices by the pontiffs in 43 B.C.[254] Later, such sacrifices were performed—clearly as a consequence of the identification of Quirinus with Romulus—by the *flamen Quirinalis*.[255]

Quirinus is not the only instance in which priests deliberately promoted the assimilation of their own vanishing god with another. A case in point is Iuppiter Dolichenus. Two reliefs found in the god's Aventine sanctuary, and dating from the end of the second and middle of the third century A.D. respectively, show Isis and Sarapis as participants in the divine kingdom of Iuppiter Dolichenus as well as his spouse, Iuno Dolichena. The earlier of the two reliefs is inscribed: "To Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus Serapis and Isis Iuno" (*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolicheno Serapi et [Isidi I]unoni*). Furthermore, antefixes and

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[251] Liv. 37.51.1–6; cf. Liv. 37.47.8, 37.50.8, 45.44.3, for the denarius see *RRC* I, 291f.; in general *FS* II, 973 no. 1599.

[252] Dio 48.43.4. Sex. Iulius Caesar is attested as *flamen Quirinalis* in 57 B.C. He died in 46 B.C., *FS* II, 1062 no. 2009.

[253] Valerius Antias ap. Gell. 7.7.5–7 (= fr 1 [Peter]); Licinius Macer ap. Macr. *sat.* 1.10.17 (= fr 1 [Peter]); Liv. 1.4.7; Paul. Fest. 106.1f. [L]; al.

[254] Cic. *ep. ad Brutum* 23.8 [S.-B., = 1.15.8]; cf. Varro *ling.* 6.23 *sacerdotes nostri* (= *pontifices*).

[255] Gell. 7.7.7; cf. Macr. *sat.* 1.10.15 *per flaminem*. Plut. *Rom.* 4.3 [Loeb] connects the cult with the *flamen Martialis*, but Wissowa 1912, 516 n. 3 affirms convincingly: "falsch".

statuettes with Egyptian motifs were also found in the sanctuary. It is therefore a qualified guess that Isis and Sarapis were worshipped in the place, either in the form of Iuppiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena or possibly in their own right (a number of sculptural representations of other gods such as the Dioscuri, Mithras, Minerva, Silvanus, Diana, Hercules and others were also found). In any case, Vidman is clearly right in suggesting that this assimilation (not necessarily identification) with the Egyptian deities (as well as other gods?) was promoted by the priests of Iuppiter Dolichenus in an attempt to render their cult more attractive by embracing more successful divine partners. Nevertheless, the Aventine cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus faded into obscurity not much later than the end of the third century A.D.[256]

Under the Empire, the focal force of the personnel foci of the traditional Republican cults disappeared. One indicator of this disappearance is the well-known scarcity of references to the traditional *flamines* in imperial sources. Even if we grant that these *flamines*, especially the *flamines minores*, may have been indifferent towards mentioning their priesthood in the inscriptions, or may rather have been interested in mentioning it in a different guise (because the flaminates themselves had no longer 'communicable prestigious potential'),[257] this would only serve to prove that they had ceased to be significant personnel foci of the deity. This may have happened because the cult itself was in decline, or because the traditional focalization of the cult through the *flamines* had been abandoned or shifted elsewhere. Those *flamines* who were attested, may well owe their attestation to a certain popularity of the *feriae* of the god they represented.[258] But statistics are too limited for further conclusions, although it is a fair guess that some flaminates existed until at least the beginning of the second century A.D.[259]

It was predominantly the advent of the imperial cult, among other factors, that led to the abandonment of the focal system of the Republican cults and in the long run, to its complete dissolution. For

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[256] Vidman 1970, 141f.; Malaise 1972, 228 nos 412–414; Malaise 1972a, 461–464; *CCID* 230–232 with pl. lxxvii [no. 365]; 253f. with pl. lxxxvii [no. 386]; Zappata 1996, 99f. [no. 6]; ead. 146f. [no. 24].

[257] *FS* III, 1528–1532, esp. 1530 ["vermittelbares Prestigepotential"].

[258] Scheid / Cecere 1999, 89f.

[259] Scheid 1990a, 145–147; for the whole question in connection with the two highly controversial lists of *calatores pontificum et flaminum* from 101 and 102 A.D. respectively (*CIL* VI 31034, 32445), see now *FS* III, 1517–1536.

by widening the various foci towards the ruler cult, they lost their very *focal* character and therefore ceased to serve in a capacity that was characteristic of traditional divine concepts. Interestingly, the most important personnel focus of the imperial cult, the imperial *flamen*, was initially calqued on the personnel focus of the Republican cult *par excellence*, the *flamen Dialis*: for both the attire and the privileges of the imperial *flamen* imitate the Jovian priest.[260] Clearly, this happened in order to lend glamour to the personnel focus of the imperial cult. The intentional fusion of the personnel foci of the central Republican and the imperial cult can be demonstrated by another example. Domitian used to attend the quinquennial Games of the Capitoline Iuppiter, wearing a golden crown depicting the Capitoline triad, a clear conceptual assimilation to the functions of the *flamen Dialis*. By contrast, the same crown, though with an image of the emperor added, was worn by the *flamen Dialis* on the same occasion, stressing the link of the latter with the imperial cult. Similarly, members of the priestly college of the Flavians (*collegium Flavialium*) were present wearing crowns identical to that of the *flamen Dialis*.[261] Therefore, in conceptual terms the *flamen Dialis* was both highest priest of Iuppiter and, it could be argued, guarantor of the cult of the Flavians.

The merger of Republican personnel foci with the imperial cult can also be demonstrated by the development of the arval brethren: this old prieshood of Dea Dia may, in the Republic, at times also have performed the cult of Mars and that of the Lares and Semones, as is apparent from the 'hymn of the arvals'.[262] When the cult was restored under Augustus, connections with other Republican cults were largely cut, and this is why we never find the imperial arvals involved in the traditional Republican ceremonies of other gods.[263] By contrast, the arvals, to a large extent, became personnel foci of the imperial cult. For example, there are numerous records of their making vows annually for the welfare of the emperor and his family on January 3 and frequently on other dates.[264] On these occasions, especially in the Tiberian period, Dea Dia was normally invoked in the fourth position (following the Capitoline triad). However, any reference to the name of the goddess

[260] Weinstock 1971, 305–308; Fishwick II.1, 475–481.
[261] Suet. *Dom.* 4.4.
[262] Scheid 1990, 621–623.
[263] Scheid 1990, 427.
[264] Scheid 1990, 291–198.

disappears completely in vows taken after 38 A.D.[265] Moreover, from the second half of the first century A.D., the imperial cult had its own building, a *Caesareum*, in the grove of Dea Dia.[266] The frequency of meetings of the brotherhood in order to worship Dea Dia, as compared to those gatherings devoted predominantly to the imperial cult, were heavily biased towards the latter until the Flavians somehow redressed the balance by cutting back on imperial observances.[267]

In short, the imperial cult had appropriated the personnel foci of the cult of Iuppiter and Dea Dia during the imperial period and essentially invalidated the notion of traditional cultic focalization. This defocalization of the personnel foci of the cult of Dea Dia under the Empire is likewise manifested by the fact that, in addition to the annual sacrifice at the temple of Dea Dia, the arvals used to perform various rituals in the private residence of their *magister* or at other temples of the city, especially in the temple of Iuppiter on the Capitoline.[268] One may argue that major Republican priesthoods did not have a special location of their own either.[269] But there was still a difference between privately gathering for administrative purposes (as was presumably done by the arvals as well as other priesthoods in the Republic) and actually performing public cult (by implication bound to public spatial foci). I would argue that by integrating the ruler into their regular observances, the imperial arvals lost their strict focus on the cult of Dea Dia. It is at least a plausible guess that the same happened to the personnel foci of the remaining official cults also.

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A long list of potential personnel foci of the Jewish god in the Graeco-Roman world can be drawn up, but the validity of such a list for the conditions of urban Rome as well as the actual functions of this personnel is still heavily disputed. At many places, including Rome, the position of the archisynagogue may have been the primary personnel focus, assisted perhaps by a council (*gerousia*). However, neither such a council nor a superintending council of synagogue councils is

[265] Scheid 1990, 344–349.
[266] Scheid 1990, 109–112.
[267] Scheid 1990, 427–429.
[268] Scheid 1990, 173–182, 460–462, 506–509.
[269] Rüpke 2002, 49–51.

unequivocally attested for Rome, and its existence cannot unreservedly be postulated on the basis of the situation in Alexandria.[270]

The earliest sources for personnel foci of the Christian god are the first epistle of Clement, presumably written around 96 A.D. in Rome, and the first epistle of Peter, which is likely to have been written in Rome and certainly belongs to the late first century A.D.[271] Though it may not be exactly clear to what extent the facts described in both letters reflect Roman conditions, the two authors appear to visualize a similar and widespread structure of Christian communities. Given the importance of the Christian community in Rome and the likely provenance of both epistles from the capital in particular, it is a fair guess that the evidence afforded by both documents applies also, and predominantly, to Rome. If this is the case, two groups of Christian officials can be identified in the capital at the end of the first century A.D., namely a board of presbyters (*presbyteroi*, also called *episkopoi*), and the deacons (*diakonoi*). The presbyters drew their legitimation from the succession of Jesus via the apostles.[272] It was the council of presbyters that collectively managed the affairs of the Christian community in Rome until the middle of the second century A.D.[273] However, already at the beginning of the second century A.D. Ignatius of Antioch had laid the theoretical foundation for the monoepiscopate, by assigning a single head, a bishop (*episkopos*), to each community, supported by an advisory council of presbyters, while the deacons were put in charge of charity work.[274] This structure is first attested in Rome during the middle of the second century A.D., beginning perhaps with the popes (= *monoepiskopoi*) Anicetus (154–166?), Soter (166?–174) and Eleutherius (174–189). It is especially with Victor (*ca.* 189–199) that the exceptional powers of the popes were stabilized.[275]

As in the case with other newcomers such as the cult of Isis, we observe an increasing specialization of personnel in the course of the third century. Thus, one of the most successful organizers of the new Church, Pope Fabian (in office 236–250 A.D.), assigned two Augustan

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[270] For the archisynagogue Levine 1998, for the council Williams 1998 (advocating opposing views); for both, Lightstone 2007, 373–376 who sides with Williams in his belief in a council and super-council.

[271] Saxer 2003, 287–291.

[272] *1 Clem.* 42.1f., 44.1.

[273] Saxer 2003, 316–318.

[274] Saxer 2003, 324–329.

[275] Lampe 1989, 334–345; cf. Perrin 2003, 681–685.

regions of Rome to one deacon (out of seven) assisted by a subdeacon in the middle of the century. Apart from the latter, there were 46 presbyters, 42 acolytes, 56 lectors, exorcists and door-keepers in the capital shortly after Fabian's death.[276] If we were to summarize the third-century development of personnel foci of the Christian god, we should mention a growing concentration of power in the hands of the bishop of Rome, and an equally increasing local and hierarchical differentiation of the remaining personnel foci. There does not seem to be any essential difference in terms of power constellation between the personnel foci of the Christian god and those of other oriental gods, most notably Isis.

4. *Function*

Divine concepts were commonly related to specific functional spheres. I shall use the word 'functions' here in the narrow sense of 'functions within the polytheistic system'. The dissolution of the world into spheres of power and the attribution of these spheres to divine concepts, thus rendering them 'functions' of a god, is a fundamental characteristic of all polytheistic systems. Polytheism would be senseless if divine functions were not divided.

Spheres of divine functions were conceptualized according to the principle of functional similarity. By this I mean, for instance, the fact that it hardly mattered whether the Romans campaigned against the Sabines or the Persians: the common denominator of both actions was the functional focus of 'war', traditionally attributed to the divine concepts of Mars and Iuppiter. Nor did it matter what specific ailment had to be cured: diseases belonged to the realm of Apollo Medicus and later on to Aesculapius.

Knowledge of the functional foci of the gods was of paramount importance. One of Varro's objectives in his *Divine Antiquities* is to spell out the functional foci of individual Roman gods, "for it is on the basis of this that we can know which god we ought to call upon or invoke for each purpose, lest we should act like clowns in a mime-play and ask Liber for water and the lymphs for wine."[277] The concept of Liber

[276] Euseb. *HE*, 6.43.11.

[277] Varro *antiqu.* fr. 3 [Cardauns]; cf. ibid. fr. 88: *ostendens in omnibus, quod sit cuiusque munus et propter quid cuique debeat supplicari.*

was formed according to a group of similar functions linked by the concept of 'wine', while the concept of lymphs was formed according to a group of similar functions linked by the concept of 'water'. The functional scope of either deity was, however, not invariably fixed, but accommodated to the relevant context. Thus, lymphae (= nymphae), when used alone, might denote both the divine and real aspect of 'water', whereas it denoted only the divine aspect (= 'water deity') when worshipped in connection with 'springs' (*fontes*).[278] By contrast, Liber was not only the god of 'wine', but, in a festival on October 15, also more specifically the god of 'vintage'.[279] Given the possibility of developing the functional scope of a divine concept on the principle of functional similarity in various directions, it is more correct to speak of 'water' and 'wine' here as functional foci than 'functions'.

Functional foci of divine concepts were determined by four parameters: tradition, readjustment, analogy and etymology. All four parameters contributed to the realm of functions of a deity, and since the former are not static, the latter is not either:

1. By tradition I refer to the (rare) fact that the functional foci of a few gods in the Roman pantheon appear to continue corresponding foci of a tradition that reaches back to prehistorical/Indo-European times. Iuppiter 'ruled' over the sky, since he was the direct descendant of the Indo-European sky god. In the same vein, Castor and Pollux were in charge of horse-breeding and rescuing (e.g. as patrons of sailors) just like their Indo-European forefathers. Mithras does not belong here. Though apparently an Indo-European divine concept, he was unknown in Rome until the end of the first century A.D. and was apparently, albeit inspired by Persian influence, created more or less from scratch as a mystery deity by his new western adherents.[280]

2. By readjustment I mean that the Roman priestly élite was always keen to readjust the functional foci of a god, in order to better or defend its own cause against an encroachment by other cults or politics in general. Naturally, such readjustments were hardly ever voiced in public, and the process of readjustment is thus scarcely traceable directly in the sources. Two possible cases are the identification of Quirinus with Romulus after the former's subjugation to Mars and the assimilation

[278] *CIL* VI 166.
[279] Degrassi 1963, 521.
[280] Mallory/Adams 1997, 231 [sky god], 161–165 [Castor and Pollux]; Gordon 2007, 394f. [Mithras].

of Iuppiter Dolichenus and his spouse, Iuno Dolichena, with Sarapis and Isis, as described above.[281]

3. By analogy I mean the fact that functional foci can be modified or created on the analogy of the functional foci of other gods. Normally, this process is linked to the full or partial identification of the gods in question. From the earliest Roman literature, examples abound of identifications of major Roman gods with Greek—later on also with Egyptian, Syrian and Persian—deities.[282] For instance, Iuno's functional focus as the Roman goddess of marriage *par excellence* was, no doubt, either created or strongly promoted by her identification with Hera as the spouse of Iuppiter/Zeus. In poetry, Liber became more or less exclusively the wine-god after identification with Greek Dionysos; and Mercury, as his name suggests (*merx* = commodity), was initially a god of commerce, before the identification with Hermes made him the god of arts ('inventor of the lyre') and messenger of the gods. His subsequent identification with the Egyptian Thot added the notions of magic, astrology and writing.

4. By etymology I mean that functional foci were based on real or imagined etymological links between divine proper names and Latin appellatives.[283] Such a link is most apparent in the case of deified abstract nouns. For instance, Tellus' functional sphere is 'earth', for that is what the word means in Latin. But such clear-cut cases are comparatively rare. Normally, divine proper names are not attested as self-contained appellatives in the Latin vocabulary. Nevertheless, ancient scholars such as Varro, or popular wit, never ceased to 'etymologize' divine names. Where such etymologies hit the truth, they could, on occasion, recover functions forgotten in the course of time. However, where they did not, a basically irrelevant Latin appellative automatically led to a new functional focus of the deity.

As a rule, it was not only etymology that determined the functional focus or foci of a god. Rather, etymology was supplemented by tradition, readjustment and analogy, as I have mentioned above. Sometimes, though, divine competence was *exclusively* determined by etymology. Modern scholars have dubbed these divine concepts 'functional gods', because they were seemingly named after their functional foci. In a

[281] See chapter I.3.
[282] For such identifications see Feeney 2007, 130–133.
[283] Cf. Scheid 2003a, 176–178 for etymologies in religion.

large number of cases, these etymologies, although widely and willingly accepted by ancient writers, were definitely wrong in historical terms.[284] However, it is important to note that in conceptual terms a flawed etymology is as important as a correct one, as long as its validity was recognized by the Romans themselves.

Many 'functional' gods had a significant role to play in the private sphere. However, some appear in public cult, too. For example, Fabius Pictor, as quoted by Servius,[285] mentioned a sacrifice to Tellus and Ceres, performed by the *flamen Cerialis*, in the course of which twelve deities were invoked. The deities who were summoned represented deified aspects of agricultural labour: the god 'that breaks up the soil' (*Vervactor*), 'restores' (*Reparator*), 'forms land into ridges by ploughing' (*Imporcitor*), 'grafts trees' (*Insitor*) etc. The fact that all these functional deities were male, while the two deities receiving the sacrifice were female, clearly indicates that the former were gods in their own right (and not just functional sub-categories of the two main goddesses Tellus and Ceres). The observation that all these functional deities conform to the rules of Latin derivatives in '*-tor*' (*nomina agentis*) also demonstrates how close these divine proper names still were to mere appellatives.[286] In a similar vein, one may refer to Adolenda, Commolenda, Deferunda and Coinquenda (four 'functional goddesses' of the same formative type and, no doubt, derived from actual appellatives), who were worshipped—in the official cult—by the arvals.[287]

Given the sheer numbers of potential gods with their various functional foci and the fact that some of these gods were important to the public domain too, it does not come as a surprise that the pontiffs tried to catalogue and standardize the various gods along with their specific functions. The result was the so-called *indigitamenta*. These were manuals of some sort for pontifical use, specifying the nature of various gods to be invoked on cultic occasions as well as the sequence in which this had to be done. The one (almost) certain fact about such lists or handbooks is that Varro, in the 14th book of his *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum*, made

[284] For a list of flawed Varronian etymologies see F. Richter, *RE* 9.2 (1916), cols. 1359–1361.

[285] DServ. *georg.* 1.21.

[286] Radke 1965, 25 tentatively suggests a connection with Cerus.

[287] Scheid nos 94 II 5, 13; 105b 12 with Scheid 2003, 180–184. I am not persuaded by Scheid that the four names denote four aspects of a single deity, rather than four independent divine entities.

extensive use of them. He thus became the principal, if not the only, mediator of their contents.[288]

Scheid has recently doubted the priestly authorship of such written documents.[289] He argued for a twofold oral tradition (ritual calendar/precise instructions for the offices), but granted that there were booklets (*libelli*) "for the recitation of specific prayers and hymns".[290] He also admitted that there was a tradition of lay scholars reaching back at least to the fourth century B.C., who "commented" on such oral tradition.[291] On closer inspection, this distinction between lay scholars and priests is elusive: although it is, of course, impossible to trace back the authorship of documents of religious relevance such as the *indigitamenta* to specific authors, the group most interested in, and most likely responsible for, their composition and subsequent preservation was no doubt the pontifical college. It is irrelevant whether the pontiffs themselves composed these works as pontiffs or as lay scholars, or whether the job was done by someone else. The point is that the existence of such documents allowed in a most unprecedented way for the preservation of anachronistic and complex ritual knowledge, access to which was limited to members of the college and potentially to those few others who possessed the relevant expertise. Following the great French scholar here would mean—to take a similar example—ignoring the enormous impact of the Sibylline oracles on the religious history of Rome on the grounds that their actual composers were most likely Greek poetasters rather than Roman priests.

The fixing in writing of the *indigitamenta* forms a landmark in the history of Roman polytheism, whoever its actual author may have been. The introduction of a 'fixed' canon of functionally specified gods led automatically to a fixation of the pantheon in functional terms. The reason for the compilation may have been technical, but ultimately this instrument meant a tremendous increase of power for the pontiffs who were in charge and—what is more—had control of it.[292] Although it would certainly be wrong to assume that Roman polytheism ever stopped producing (or simply 'naming') new gods on

[288] Varro *antiqu.* fr. 87 [Cardauns] with Cardauns 1976, 184; unfortunately, I learnt too late of Perfigli 2004 on the *indigitamenta* to be able to discuss the work here.
[289] Scheid 2006, 15–20, 33.
[290] Scheid 2006, 18.
[291] Scheid 2006, 33.
[292] For writing in religious contexts as a means of power in the hands of the political (priestly) élite see Beard 1991, 51–58.

functional grounds,[293] the *indigitamenta* provided the means to preserve the names and functions of gods who had long been forgotten as well as control the inclusion of new gods.

There is no fixed date for the composition of the *indigitamenta*. However, a passage in Arnobius may possibly help. According to him, Roman scholarly literature explicitly noted the absence of Apollo in the *indigitamenta* of 'Numa Pompilius'.[294] Numa, the successor of Romulus, was commonly regarded as the 'organizer' of Roman religion *par excellence*. Therefore, the Arnobian passage can only refer to the oldest *indigitamenta* known to Arnobius. Furthermore, the expression implicitly takes account of the fact that in a later version Apollo seems to have been included in the *indigitamenta*.[295] Given that Apollo had received an official temple, and that means a place in the official pantheon, as early as 431 B.C., it is plausible to conjecture that the first *indigitamenta* known to Roman antiquarians (as known by Arnobius) predate the year 431 B.C. This is in line with North's fine observation that the bookish nature of Roman religion was shared with Etruria and therefore may date back to the period of their mutual influence, possibly the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.[296] Furthermore, the *indigitamenta*, and more generally the keeping of written records, may have been the actual cause of the ascent of the pontificate from an association of 'bridge builders' (perhaps without any particular religious notion) to that of the highest priestly college in Rome.[297]

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[293] Scheid 2003, 180–187.

[294] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 2.73: *non doctorum in litteris continetur Apollinis nomen Pompiliana indigitamenta nescire?*

[295] This is true at least if we assume that Varro *antiqu.* fr. 157 [Cardauns] is based on the *indigitamenta* in their late Republican form. For the fragment is taken from Aug. *civ.* 4.21: *cur enim esset invocanda propter fessos diva Fessona, propter hostes depellendos diva Pellonia, propter aegros medicus vel Apollo vel Aesculapius vel ambo simul, quando esset grande periculum?* Both the close context and the whole chapter in Augustine seem to be founded entirely on the relevant section of the lost Varronian original.

[296] North 1990, 66; cf. id. 2000, 104f.

[297] The specialized nature of this office necessitated writing skills (for example, construction plans and tidal calendars), while the building of bridges (or possibly roads) was a community task *par excellence* and naturally performed by royal officials. It is a fair guess that the pontiffs were employed by the king, not only as construction experts, but as secretaries and archivists in general (the *pontifices minores* are explicitly said to have been *scribae pontificii*, Liv. 22.57.3). Following this line of reasoning, regal documents, such as the foundation decree of the Aventine temple of Diana (which served as a model for similar decrees until the imperial period) would be the first evidence for administrative activities of the pontiffs in the religious sphere. After the fall of the kings, the pontiffs would then have arrogated to themselves the administrative func-

Occasionally, the nature of a deity with specific functions was unknown. In this case, the Romans addressed the deity as *sive deus sive dea* vel. sim.[298] Patron deities of foreign cities were evoked with these words[299] and expiatory sacrifices were thus offered to the deities that had caused earthquakes, if their identity could not be determined more accurately.[300] Equally unspecified was the patron deity of trees and groves, which is why, according to Cato, the specific formula had to be employed on trimming trees.[301] In order to avoid dire consequences when omitting the names of gods, the pontiffs addressed the hitherto unnamed divine forces with the general *dique deaeque omnes* at the end of their invocations.[302]

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A god could have very distinct, mutually independent functional foci. For instance, Apollo, the healing god, is functionally distinct from Apollo, the guardian of fine art, and both aspects are entirely separate from the god's prophetic competences. The three aspects develop independently: as a healing god Apollo remains a cipher in Rome, as protector of the arts he is the cherished subject of all poetry (though virtually without a cult), while as the source of prophecy he bulks large as the inspirer of the Sibylline books. Augustus did not hesitate to build a temple to Apollo next to his Palatine residence, because it was the Greek god of youth, art and culture, as well as his personal divine protector that he was thus honouring, not the old and unpopular healing god (who already possessed a temple in the Campus Martius). In the same vein, a 'foreign' deity could be adopted in different functional modes. Thus Venus Erycina was introduced to Rome from Mount Eryx in Sicily

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tions of earlier priesthoods that had been under the direct influence of the king along with functions that had been executed by the king himself (*rex sacrorum*, flaminates, vestals). In that case one may compare the development of the *IIviri sacris faciundis*, who may have received a sacerdotal character only as a result of their archival and administrative competences concerning religious documents: their very title is more in line with that of other temporary state officials (e.g. *tresviri, vigintiviri* etc.) than with that of permanent and traditional priests.

[298] Latte 1960, 54 with *TLL* s.v. *deus* 909.14–28. For instance, the gender of Pales was uncertain, Vergil considered it to be feminine, while Varro used it as masculine, see Serv. *georg.* 3.1.

[299] Macr. *sat.* 3.9.7 with chapter II.1 (on *evocatio*).

[300] Varro ap. Gell. 2.28.2f. = *antiqu.* fr. 78 [Cardauns].

[301] Cato *agr.* 139, cf. also the same formula in the acts of the arvals on clipping or cutting trees, e.g. no. 94.II.1, 3, 10, 12; 100a.2 al. [Scheid].

[302] DServ. *georg.* 1.21.

when Rome was under siege during the Hannibalic wars. As such, i.e. as a tutelary deity, she received a temple on the Capitol in 215 B.C. Meanwhile, a second temple was built to her as a fertility deity outside the Colline Gate in 181 B.C.[303]

The divine functional foci of the living ruler were advertised by imperial propaganda (even though there was no actual cult). Such foci sprang from his political functions within the Roman state (*res publica*), his foremost task being its eternal welfare (*salus publica/populi Romani*). As the human incarnation of the *res publica*, his well-being was tantamount to the well-being of the state. Cicero, for instance, established a link between Caesar's *salus* and the fate of Rome in 46 B.C.[304] Later, vows were made regularly on behalf of the *salus* of individual rulers (e.g. *pro salute Augusti*), no doubt as guarantors and protectors of the established order.[305] In doing so, the living emperor appropriated essential functional foci of the Republican Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, irrespective of whether he was actually identified with him or only worshipped like him. Consequently, within the state, the living emperor operated on two different levels, as guarantor of the order of human beings and as a mediator between human beings and gods. From Augustus' reign onwards, both functions were expressed in the form of address of the emperor, as this is attested innumerable times in epigraphy, the former by the term *imperator*, the latter by the word *augustus*.

By contrast, a deceased emperor, though considered divine, was virtually void of functions.[306] Rather, his *raison d'être* was to legitimate the rule of his successor. In other words, his successor's claim to power was the major and, in principle, sole motivation for his own *post-mortem* deification. The pomp with which his deification was celebrated may be exemplified by the case of Pertinax: after the latter's murder and burial in 193 A.D., one of his successors, Septimius Severus, eager to justify his claim to power, made himself an avenger of Pertinax's killers and provided for 'heroic honours' in his name (*heroikai timai*).[307] After

[303] This explains why the anniversary of this temple was sacred to prostitutes, Ov. *fast.* 4.865 with Schultz 2006, 147.

[304] Cic. *Marc.* 22; Weinstock 1971, 170f.; Winkler 1995, 42; but cf. also Cicero's joke at *Att.* 12.45.3 [45 B.C.] (Cicero preferring Caesar's sharing a temple with Quirinus rather than with Salus), with Clark 2007, 253f., 266.

[305] For the cult of Salus in such contexts see Weinstock 1971, 169–174; Marwood 1988, *passim*; Winkler 1995, *passim*.

[306] Gradel 2002, 334–336.

[307] Dio 74.17.4.

his enthronement, Severus "erected a shrine to Pertinax, and commanded that his name be mentioned at the close of all prayers and oaths. Severus also ordered that a golden image of Pertinax be carried into the Circus on a cart drawn by elephants, and that three gilded thrones be borne into the amphitheatres in his honour."[308] Severus pompously staged Pertinax's deification (employing a wax effigy of the dead)[309] and elevated him as a god in the usual manner (spatial/temporal/personnel foci).[310]

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Sometimes, the functional foci of two or more divine concepts coincide more or less totally. In this case, two solutions were conceivable. The competing parties might differentiate their functional foci, with the result of a redefinition and clarification of their spheres of competences. Or one of the two competitors might lose his or her identity in part or entirely. Where the latter case did not lead to a full extinction of the succumbing party, the relationship with its superior was highlighted in Latin in two fashions. Either the name of the inferior deity was simply added to that of its competitor (formally indicating a balance of powers), as this is attested in the cases of Iuppiter Summanus[311] and Iuno Matuta[312] and according to my earlier argument possibly Iuppiter Feretrius.[313] Or else it was accompanied by the name of the latter in the partitive genitive (indicating partial functions within a larger functional whole), as in the case of Lua Saturni, Salacia Neptunis, Nerio Martis, for example ('Lua in the sphere of Saturn').[314] In the case of the 'god of the beginning of war' both types are attested: Ianus Quirinus and Ianus Quirini.[315] Similar, but not identical, is the addition of *Augustus/Augusti* to traditional gods, as is frequently found on imperial inscriptions: *Hercules Augustus/Augusti* is 'Hercules in the sphere of Augustus', i.e. Hercules in his capacity as protector of the ruling emperor. In the

[308] Dio 75.4.1 [transl. E. Cary, Loeb].
[309] Dio 75.4.2–75.5.5; Hist. Aug. *Pert.* 15.1; Hist. *Sev.* 7.8.
[310] Space: Dio 75.4.1 [shrine]; time: Herz 1978, 1181 [anniversary of accession, birthday]; personnel: Hist. Aug. *Pert.* 15.3f.; Hist. Aug. *Sev.* 7.8 [*flamen, sodales*].
[311] See below in this chapter.
[312] See below in this chapter.
[313] See chapter I.1.
[314] Gell. 13.23.2.
[315] Radke 1965, 31–33; Fears 1981a, 886f.; Scheid 2003, 172f. For Ianus Quirinus see Fest. 204.13–19 [L]; Lucil. 22 [M] (with Koch 1953, 6); Aug. *res gestae* 13; Suet. *Aug.* 22; Macr. *sat.* 1.9.15f.; Lyd. *de mens.* 4.1; for Ianus Quirini Hor. *carm.* 4.15.9.

same vein, we find, for instance, a *Silvanus Flaviorum*, who receives a dedication by a Flavian freedman.[316] The difference to the former cases of succumbent gods is that the ruling emperor was presumably not normally felt to be a divine entity in these contexts.[317]

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I shall now discuss some alternatives of functional interaction by means of three test cases, Apollo—Aesculapius, Summanus—Iuppiter, and Mater Matuta—Carmenta—Iuno.

1. Suppression of functional foci could go hand in hand with the reinforcement of other functional foci and therefore lead to an overall redefinition of the god's sphere of competences. A case in point is Apollo, who may have had similar functions as his Greek pendant in early Rome, but whose functional focus of 'healing' was particularly emphasized by the dedication of a temple to Apollo the Healer (*medicus*) in the mid-fifth century B.C. Over time, this functional focus faded into oblivion, and Apollo increasingly became the Roman god of Greek art and culture *par excellence*, while ceding his healing competences to Aesculapius, another Greek import. To illustrate this development, I will recapitulate briefly the history of the two cults.

In 449 B.C., Livy mentions a precinct of Apollo (*Apollinare*) outside the city walls, close to the Porta Carmentalis. After an epidemic, a temple to Apollo the Healer (*medicus*) was erected on the site in 431.[318] The location can be explained by the fact that illness, like death, had no place inside the city walls. Apollo's epithet, the occasion on which his temple was built, and its extramural location, make it unmistakeably clear that the cult focused on the god's 'healing' competences. On the other hand, there is no indication that the god was in any way connected with other aspects dominant in the corresponding Greek cult, most notably oracular functions. Indeed, quite the opposite is the case, as the Sibylline books were kept in the Capitoline sanctuary of Iuppiter rather than in the temple of Apollo, as would be expected. Even when the old books were destroyed in the fire of 83 B.C., the newly compiled collection was again stored in the Capitoline temple when it

[316] *CIL* VI 644.
[317] Fishwick II.1 446–454; Lott 2004, 107–110.
[318] Liv. 3.63.7; 4.25.3f.; 4.29.7. For the epithet *Medicus* see Liv. 40.51.6. For the location of the temple A. Viscogliosi, in: *LTUR* I (1993), 49.

was rebuilt.[319] It was not until the time of Augustus that the collection was possibly transferred, not to the old sanctuary of Apollo the Healer at the foot of the Capitol, but to the new Palatine temple of Apollo.[320] Not before 37 B.C. and under Augustan patronage did the god find his way on to Roman coinage, but this time in his capacity as the Greek oracular god (in fact, only his tripod was depicted).[321]

The Palatine temple was dedicated by Augustus in 28 B.C. It was built of white Luna marble and lavishly decorated with pieces of Greek sculpture, executed with "unique munificence".[322] The group of cult statues venerated there (Apollo, Diana and Latona) were the work of famous Greek artists.[323] It had a library attached to it, and played a dominant role in the Secular Games of 17 B.C. It was also a place of assembly for the senate.[324] Architecturally, it was connected to Augustus' residence via corridors. In short, it was designed to be what the old temple of Apollo was not: a spatial focus of an exclusively Greek god, who happened to be also the guarantor of the well-being of the emperor and the Empire.

This is not to say that the Romans were ignorant of major functional foci of Greek Apollo before the Augustan period. In fact, the god's functional position in the Greek pantheon had always been known and partly adopted in Rome. For instance, it was Greek myth that established a kinship link between Apollo, Latona (his mother), and Diana (his sister) and it is therefore no coincidence that the triad was worshipped (along with Hercules, Mercury and Neptune) at the first *lectisternium* in 399 B.C.[325] The Games of Apollo (*ludi Apollinares*) in 212 B.C. and later were held according to "Greek custom" (*Graeco ritu*)[326] and involved scenic performances according to similar Greek practice.[327] By the middle of the first century B.C., the Sibylline books became linked with Apollo, evidently under Greek influence. However,

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[319] A. Rzach, in: *RE* 2A.2 (1923), cols. 2112f.

[320] Suet. *Aug.* 31.1 with Kienast 1999, 235f. and n. 103 [suggesting that the part of the collection that had been compiled after 83 B.C. remained in the Capitoline temple].

[321] *RRC* II, 744.

[322] Vel. 2.81.4 *singulari munificentia*.

[323] Martin 1988, 254. But also the cult statue of Apollo the Healer may have been the work of a Greek artist, Flashar 1992, 138–142.

[324] P. Gros, in: *LTUR* I (1993), 54–57.

[325] Liv. 5.13.6; D.H. 12.9.2.

[326] Liv. 25.12.10, 13. For the Games cf. Bernstein 1998, 171–186, for the cult *Graeco ritu* see Scheid 1995.

[327] Bernstein 1998, 183–185.

as I have mentioned above, they had no verifiable impact upon the Roman cult of Apollo until their transference to the Palatine temple under Augustus.[328] The old temple of Apollo was adorned with various famous pieces of Greek art, set up on completion of restoration work in the thirties or twenties B.C.[329]

Despite his undoubtedly central and well-defined functional focus as healing god, Apollo never became popular in Rome.[330] In marked contrast, Aesculapius, whose temple like that of Apollo was also dedicated after an epidemic in 290 B.C. and outside the city wall (i.e. on the Island in the Tiber) enjoyed private worship from an early date. This is attested by a number of dedicatory inscriptions, the earliest of which belong to the third or second century B.C.,[331] as well as an impressive number of votive terracottas.[332] The temple could provide funds for long-term building projects.[333] It was frequented not only by the poor, but also by the well-off. For example, Cicero's wife Terentia seems to have been a regular visitor.[334] This is even more astonishing, given that the cult did not command attention in other parts of central Italy, with the notable exception of Fregellae, where, however, it may have continued an indigenous cult.[335] Nor did it receive particular support from the Julio-Claudian emperors.[336] Only from the Flavian period onwards was the cult of Aesculapius increasingly instrumentalized for political ends.[337]

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[328] Cic. *de har. resp.* 18: *fatorum veteres praedictiones Apollinis*; Cic. *div.* 1.115, 2.113: *Apollinis operta*. At Liv. 10.8.2 the *Xviri* appear as *antistites Apollinaris sacri caerimoniarumque aliarum*, but Livy here projects an Apollonian connection back to the end of the fourth century B.C., cf. Radke 1987, 55.

[329] Plin. *nat.* 13.53, 35.99f., 36.28, 36.34f. For C. Sosius as the one in charge of the restoration cf. A. Viscogliosi, in: *LTUR* I (1993), 50f.

[330] No dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo from Republican Rome have been unearthed so far. For limited evidence from elsewhere in Italy, cf. Latte 1960, 223 n. 2.

[331] For the Republican period cf. *ILLRP* 35–39, for their dating Degrassi 1986, 148. For later dedicatory inscriptions cf. *CIL* VI 8–20; 30844.

[332] *Terracotte votive* 17–20; Degrassi 1986, 148; for the wider context of such terracotta ex-votos see Cazanove 2000, 75f.

[333] *ILLRP* 39 = *CIL* I² 800 with Guarducci 1971, 275f.

[334] For the participation of the poor in the cult cf. Guarducci 1971, 274f.; Winkler 1995, 145f. For Terentia see Cic. *fam.* 14.7.1 (= S.-B. 155.1). The healing god is not mentioned here by name, but his character as a protector of private health makes Aesculapius a more likely choice than Apollo.

[335] Degrassi 1986, 149–152.

[336] Winkler 1995, 148.

[337] Winkler 1995, 150–153.

The success of Aesculapius as a healing god in Rome no doubt accelerated the process of 'hellenization' of Apollo, i.e. the shifting and extension of the functional foci of the Roman god towards the corresponding foci of his Greek counterpart. At the conclusion of this process of redefinition stands the Palatine Apollo. This 'Augustan' Apollo apparently possessed all functional foci of the Greek Apollo, with one exception—his healing competences. Ovid seems to have been aware of the competition between Aesculapius and Apollo, since he tries to reconcile both, making Aesculapius not arrive from Epidauros until he had secured the explicit approval of Apollo, his "father".[338]

2. Varro, referring to ancient sources (*annales*),[339] represents Titus Tatius, the Sabine king, as the founder of an altar to Summanus.[340] Although no such altar is archaeologically attested in Rome, during the Republican period we do find a terracotta statue of the god on the roof of the Capitoline temple.[341] It is a qualified guess that the supposed altar stood in the precincts of the Capitoline temple, and that its cult was integrated into the complex in a manner similar to the cults of Iuventus and Terminus.[342] A decision to dedicate the original altar on the Capitol, one of the highest spots in the city, can be explained by Summanus' functional focus as a god of lightning, which is also reflected in his very name, "the highest".[343] However, in the Roman pantheon this functional focus was already occupied by Iuppiter. A solution to this dilemma was to subordinate Summanus to Iuppiter and to refer to him simply by means of an epithet, as is done on two inscriptions from northern Italy, where he appears as *Iuppiter summanus*,[344] and by the epitomes of Livy's book XIV (reflecting Livian word usage?), which refer to Summanus simply as Iuppiter. The other, more widely accepted, solution was to adopt Summanus as an independent entity into the Roman pantheon, though with limited and specified functional foci. He became, perhaps under Etruscan influence, the god of nocturnal lightning, handing over

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[338] Ov. *met.* 15.628–640. Other sources report that the cult was introduced after the consultation of the Sibylline books, cf. Schmidt 1909, 31–38 for a sober discussion of the sources and their differences.

[339] Varro *ling.* 5.74.

[340] However, there seems to be little comparative material from Sabine territory, cf. Evans 1939, 206f. Plin. *nat.* 2.138 regards Summanus an Etruscan god.

[341] Cf. Cic. *div.* 1.16 with Pease *ad loc.*

[342] See chapter I.1.

[343] Cf. Walde / Hofmann, s.v. *summus*; Radke 1965, 295.

[344] *CIL* V 3256, 5660. *Summanus* was a proper name at all times, as is shown by the existence of the adjective *Summanius* in *CIL* VI 30880.

his métier of diurnal lightning to Iuppiter.[345] Even a new etymology was invented, which made him the god "before morning" (**sub-manus*) in accordance with his new nocturnal competences.[346] In the course of time, the original aspect of a god of "height" was lost too, with the result that in the third century B.C. a temple to him was erected, not on a hill-top, but somewhere in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine, "not far away from the *carceres* of the Circus Maximus".[347] Finally, after his relegation to night-time and darkness, Summanus eventually appears as a god of the underworld from the third century A.D. on.[348] A truly remarkable carreer.

To some extent, a parallel is offered by the antagonism between Apollo and Sol. In its form of Sol Indiges, the latter was apparently an age-old Roman deity, whose functional sphere came to overlap with that of Greek Apollo as an identification of the 'sun', when the latter identification became prominent in Rome in the Augustan period. As Summanus adorned the roof of the temple of Iuppiter but lost most of its functions, so Sol's chariot was exhibited on top of Apollo's Palatine temple built by Augustus,[349] paying homage to the older and waning deity. Befittingly, Horace did not fail to turn to Sol in his *Carmen Saeculare*, which was actually a hymn to Apollo and his sister performed on the occasion of the Secular Games in 17 B.C. in front of the god's Palatine temple (see chapter III below).

My notion of Summanus as an originally independent god who was eventually suppressed by Iuppiter is not uncontroversial. Thus, Wissowa and others considered Summanus to be a Jovian hypostasis, denoting a god of night-time lightning who had become emancipated from Iuppiter in his shape as the sky god.[350] However, such a course of

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[345] Plin. *nat.* 2.138; Paul. Fest. 66.15f. [L]; Fest. 254.1–4 [L]; Aug. *civ.* 4.23; Philo ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 1.29.3. It is not clear whether *CIL* VI 30879 and 30880, which mention a *fulgur Summani* and a *Summanium fulgur* respectively, simply refer to nocturnal lightning. The deliberate specification "of Summanus", however, renders such an interpretation highly likely.

[346] Walde / Hofmann s.v. *summus*.

[347] Ziolkowski 1992, 154f., based on Plin. *nat.* 29.57.

[348] In the *acta Arvalia* of 224 A.D. a sacrifice to Summanus of two black wethers is mentioned, cf. Scheid, no. 105.11. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5.37, 6.3 identifies Summanus with Dis Pater. Mart. Cap. 2.161 equates Summanus with Pluto and etymologizes the former as *summus Manium*. Finally, the *not. urb.* reg. XI mentions a temple of Dis Pater, which presumably belonged to Summanus, cf. Ziolkowski 1992, 154f.; F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* IV (1999), 386.

[349] Prop. 2.31.11.

[350] Wissowa 1912, 53, 134f.; Koch 1937, 101–103.

reasoning runs into serious difficulties. The third-century B.C. temple of the god was erected in the vicinity of the Circus Maximus, which was a fair distance from both the Capitoline sanctuary (where most Jovian hypostases had their temples)[351] and the temple of Iuppiter Fulgur in the Campus Martius, the direct functional counterpart to Summanus.[352] The anniversary of the temple (June 20) was not linked to any specific Jovian day, nor to the foundation of the temple of Iuppiter Fulgur (October 7) for that matter. Besides, its closeness to the summer solstice would be surprising in the case of a god who operated exclusively at night. Furthermore, a terracotta statue on top of a temple would be as unparallelled a beginning for a future hypostasis, as would be the distinction of various forms of lightning *outside* the Etruscan discipline. Last but not least, Varro points to Summanus' popularity before the installation of the Capitoline triad, suggesting a subsequent decline in popularity rather than an increase. However, only rising popularity would justify an emancipation.[353] On balance, it is safer to claim that, in historical times, Summanus was an independent god in decline, not an increasingly powerful aspect of Iuppiter that eventually became emancipated from the old sky god.

3. The cult of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium dates back to the archaic period, as is evidenced by a seventh-century votive deposit and a sixth-century temple discovered in the region as well as the annual festival of *Matralia*, already mentioned in the earliest known *feriale*. It had its pendant in the archaic cult of the same goddess in Satricum, some 60 kilometers or so south of Rome.[354] Regarding the question of functional foci of Roman Mater Matuta, it is irrelevant whether *matuta* can be linked etymologically to *matutinus* ("belonging the morning") or *manus* ("good") or both.[355] Neither etymology would have been self-

[351] See chapter II.3.

[352] For the location of the temple of Iuppiter Fulgur see D. Manacorda, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 136.

[353] Varro *antiqu.* fr. 42 [Cardauns].

[354] Champeaux 1982, 250–259; Coarelli 1988, 205–244; G. Pisani Sartorio, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 281–285; Smith 2000, 136–140. For the *Matralia* see Degrassi 1963, 468f. For the date of the earliest *feriale* see chapter I.2.

[355] For the two etymologies Radke 1965, 206–209; for a combination of both cf. Champeaux 1982, 312, referring to earlier studies. It must be strongly stressed that Mater Matuta is not to be identified with either a hypothetic Mater Matutina or a Mater Mana, even if a firm etymological link to such a deity could be established (but no such link can be substantiated).

evident to an ordinary Roman. Indeed, neither is markedly present in the actual rites of the cult, as far as we can reconstruct them. It is however important to note that in the old calendar, the festival of the goddess is simply called *Matralia*, i.e. "festival of mothers", without further specification. Despite various fanciful interpretations, the most straightforward solution would seem that the underlying word *mater* here was used in a general sense for *matrona*. In other words, the *Matralia* were the old festival of the free, Roman housewife, in charge of the children as well as the household, and all things connected with the family, including childbirth.[356] Such an approach explains the little we know about the ritual from later sources, viz. the fact that only women who had been married once (*univirae*) could perform the cult,[357] while slave-women were excluded. Once a year a slave-woman was symbolically driven out of the temple while receiving a beating.[358] A strange rite of embracing one's nephews and nieces and praying for them, instead of one's own children, was presumably a remnant of an originally much larger ritual context. Whatever its nature, it appears to have been strongly connected with the notion of family and blood-kinship.[359]

The reason why Mater Matuta eventually attained only a marginal position in the pantheon of Republican Rome appears to have been the very similar functional foci of Iuno, who rose unchallenged as the female goddess *par excellence* after the inauguration of the Capitoline triad towards the end of the sixth century. Whatever her prior position in the Roman pantheon, Iuno's importance can only have been considerably strengthened by this event. It was not only as a member of the most powerful divine triad that Iuno superseded other female patron goddesses. Later, the festival of *Matronalia* on March 1 was dedicated to her, which therefore competed with the *Matralia* of Mater Matuta.[360] The merger of both deities is attested by Livy, who mentions Iuno Matuta on one occasion (perhaps actually referring to Iuno Sospita).[361]

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[356] Cf. e.g. the sacrifices of foetuses and, hence, of pregnant animals, Champeaux 1982, 264f.

[357] Tert. *monog.* 17.3.

[358] Ov. *fast.* 6.551–558; Plut. *Cam.* 5.2; *mor.* 267D with Schultz 2006, 147.

[359] Ov. *fast.* 6.559–562; Plut. *Cam.* 5.2; *mor.* 267E.

[360] The *Matronalia* do *not* belong to the oldest calendar, for details see St. Weinstock, in: *RE* 14.2 (1930), cols. 2306–2309.

[361] Liv. 34.53.3 with Radke 1963, 329–331.

A similar 'victim' superseded by the spread of Iuno's cult was Carmenta (also referred to as Carmentis), whose temple was located virtually next to the temple of Mater Matuta and possibly complemented it in ritual terms.[362] According to Varro, Carmenta was an old goddess of childbirth.[363] If so, she must have been subordinated to Iuno (Lucina) at an early stage.[364] Her antiquity and importance are guaranteed by her ancient sanctuary and by the fact that she had her own *flamen* and a festival (*Carmentalia*).[365] The age of the sanctuary is vouched for, not only by the supposed connection of the cult with Euander,[366] but also by the existence of the Porta Carmentalis, which took its name from the sanctuary nearby.

The three test cases, Apollo—Aesculapius, Summanus—Iuppiter and Mater Matuta—Carmenta—Iuno show some general characteristics of functional interaction. To begin with, in all three instances functional foci shifted. The moving force of this vibrating system of functional foci was the attempt to avoid functional overlaps. Although the whole system was highly fluid, there was a clear tendency to have each functional focus occupied by one, and one only, divine concept at a time. While it is thus fair to say that functional foci were oscillating according to historic circumstances, the overarching principle of economy is omnipresent: ideally, each functional focus belonged to one god only.

Second, the expansion of the functional focus of a divine concept necessarily led to restriction of the functional foci of another, if a functional overlap was to be avoided. On the part of the divine concept under attack, this led to either extinction or modification. Modification meant dissolution of a functional focus into a number of constituent functional foci and the ceding of part of these new constituent foci

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[362] The myth as recounted by Ov. *fast.* 6.529–548 connects the two. Besides this, both temples are located virtually next to each other, despite the fact that the archaic city wall presumably separated the two (like the later Servian wall, for the topography cf. Champeaux 1982, 316f.; Coarelli 1988, 241; Carandini 1997, pl. xxxiii with p. 627).

[363] Varro ap. Gell. 16.16.4 = *antiqu.* fr. 103 [Cardauns]. The foundation myth of the *Carmentalia*, as recounted by Ov. *fast.* 1.617–636 (historically confirmed by Liv. 5.25.9; 34.3.9), clearly implies the exclusive involvement of women (*matronae*) in the cult and the nature of Carmentis as goddess of childbirth. Her function as a prophesying deity (Macr. *sat.* 1.7.20) is secondary: in Ovid (*loc. cit.*) Carmenta is only accompanied by (not identified with) two divining deities.

[364] Suggested already by Wissowa 1912, 53.

[365] Cic. *Brut.* 56, *CIL* VI 31032.10.

[366] Coarelli 1988, 245.

to the expanding deity. Thus, when encroached upon by Iuppiter, the functional focus of 'lightning' of Summanus was dissolved into 'day lightning' and 'night lightning' and the former was ceded to Iuppiter. On the other hand, the expansion of the functional foci of Iuppiter was again based on the principle of functional similarity, for both 'blue sky' and 'lightning' resembled each other in that both were meteorological phenomena. Both expansion and restriction of functional foci were actually governed by the same principle of similarity.

Third, old concepts died hard. Since the privileged nature of divine concepts was normally neatly tied up with patterns of power within society, it was expedient to abandon these concepts only in the very specific case of revolution, i.e. a violent redistribution of power within society. But this case was exceedingly rare, and normally divine concepts did not serve to propagate the new, but to cement and corroborate the old. This is why divine concepts such as Summanus, Mater Matuta or Carmenta were not abolished but redefined or left untouched, even at the cost of violiating the principle of functional economy described above.

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The welter of innumerable gods, with practically innumerable functional foci, made Roman polytheism in its entirety a cumbersome instrument for fulfilling the religious needs of the ordinary people. The answer to such a problem was selectivity. Selectivity meant that the whole range of potential functions was projected on to a very limited number of gods. Selectivity was the precondition that would make private cult work, although it stood in stark ideological contrast to the official pontifical religion. Selectivity meant ascribing privilege to a few gods as opposed to the many, and significantly expanding the functional foci of the privileged deities at the cost of those gods excluded. The climax of this development was the adherence to virtually one single god among the many. This phenomenon is now widely known as 'henotheism', a term introduced by Versnel's classic study 'Ter Unus' less than two decades ago.[367]

Selectivity was no doubt inherent in Roman polytheism from time immemorial. The first example on record is the cult of Bacchus, eventually banned by the senate in 186 B.C. Livy and the Tiriolo decree

[367] Versnel 1990 in general and 35–38 in particular.

testify to the degree of exclusivity which this cult implied by imposing a specific life style, as well as to the exceptional devotion of its followers. They suggest that Bacchus was considered, if not the only god, at least the only god that mattered, and the indisputable head of the pantheon at least in the mind of those who followed him.

It was selectivity that opened the door to foreign cults and ensured their success. A prime example is the cult of Isis. In Rome she appears in two forms, as goddess of the sea (Isis Pelagia, Pharia) with a specific festival, the *Isidis navigium*, on March 5,[368] and as goddess of fertility and agriculture (Isis Frugifera).[369] But in the eyes of her adherents, her competences were much wider. Apuleius lets her describe herself as "mother of the universe, mistress of all the elements, first offspring of the ages, mightiest of deities, queen of the dead, foremost of heavenly beings, uniform manifestation of all gods and goddesses etc."[370] Elsewhere he speaks of her as the one "that gives birth to all", "that rules over everything", or "the mother of all time".[371] A Greek inscription from imperial Rome refers to her as the goddess "that surveys everything".[372] In other inscriptions from Rome she carries the title "queen" (*regina*),[373] and she is identified with Iuno in Rome in the late second century A.D.[374]

From the time of Franz Cumont, scholars have been in the habit of connecting Christianity with the cults of other oriental deities such as Isis and Mithras to explain the decline of the traditional Roman pantheon. However, Christianity differed fundamentally from these oriental religions in one particular point: its functional exclusiveness. For other oriental gods never precluded the existence of competing divine forces. At most, the latter were considered emanations of the central divine power. One may refer to Isis again: as we have just seen, in her most extreme form the goddess was conceptualized as embodying competences of all the members of the Roman pantheon, of which

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[368] *SIRIS* no. 396 [1st–2nd century A.D., Pelagia]; for Isis Pharia see Bricault 1996, 89. The goddess had a special affinity with the sea from the Hellenistic period onwards, Malaise 1972a, 186f.

[369] *SIRIS* no. 379 with Malaise 1972a, 187 with chapter I.5 for representations of Isis Frugifera.

[370] Apul. *met.* 11.5.

[371] Apul. *met.* 11.7 [*parens temporum*]; 11.11 [*omniparens dea*]; 11.16 [*omnipotens dea*].

[372] *IGUR* 176.7–9 [*panepískopos*].

[373] E.g. *SIRIS* no. 370.1 with Apul. *met.* 11.5 [*appellant vero nomine reginam Isidem*] with Bricault 1996, 90–92.

[374] *SIRIS* no. 391 [*Isis Iuno*], cf. Apul. *met.* 11.5 and Malaise 1972a, 181–183.

however she remained an integral part. Her inclusive functional force is documented, for instance, by a Roman dedicatory inscription from 1 A.D., where she appears between Ops and Pietas following a series of ten or eleven traditional Roman gods.[375] In representational art, her functions are manifest in manifold syncretistic iconographic forms (see below on iconography)[376] and in peculiar bronze figurines from the second century A.D. In these figurines, major gods of the Roman pantheon (including Isis) are represented by their characteristic attributes (*signa panthea*).[377] Finally, one may point to an aedicula (lararium/shrine?), discovered on the Esquiline in a domestic context dating from the era of Constantine: a statue of Isis of considerable size (height 1.50 m) was placed in the central niche of the aedicula. Isis appeared here as Isis-Fortuna, combining icongraphic requisites of both the Egyptian deity (uraei, basileion) and the Roman goddess (steering oar, cornucopia). Although she clearly occupied the central position, marked by both the central place and size of the statue, she was also flanked by statuettes and busts of other Roman and Egyptian deities (figs. 1 a, b).[378] Even more, the aedicula was placed next to a door which led to a Mithraeum. It has been argued convincingly that both sanctuaries were functionally connected. Perhaps the Mithraeum was destined for the male, the Iseum for the female occupants of the house.[379]

The reason why no other oriental deity (apart from the Jewish and Christian gods) ever detached itself from the notion of functional plurality is, of course, historical: all other oriental gods that played any significant role in the Roman pantheon hailed from *polytheistic* systems. There was, then, neither need nor opportunity to change their polytheistic profile in terms of functions, when they entered the Roman pantheon. Once more, the case of Isis affords a classic example of the importance of the historical dimension. Emerging from the multifarious Egyptian pantheon, Isis became part and parcel of various local Greek panthea and as such entered Rome as one constituent of a larger polytheistic whole. By contrast, the exclusive nature of the Christian god is manifest by its very namelessness: while all other gods of the pagan pantheon, including the so-called oriental deities, were addressed with

[375] *CIL* VI 30975 = *ILS* 3090 = *SIRIS* 401 = Malaise 1972, 130 [no. 61].
[376] See chapter I.5.
[377] Weisshäupl 1910 with Eichler 1952.
[378] Vittozzi 1993 with chapter I.5.
[379] Vittozzi 1993, 235f. and 242 n. 66.

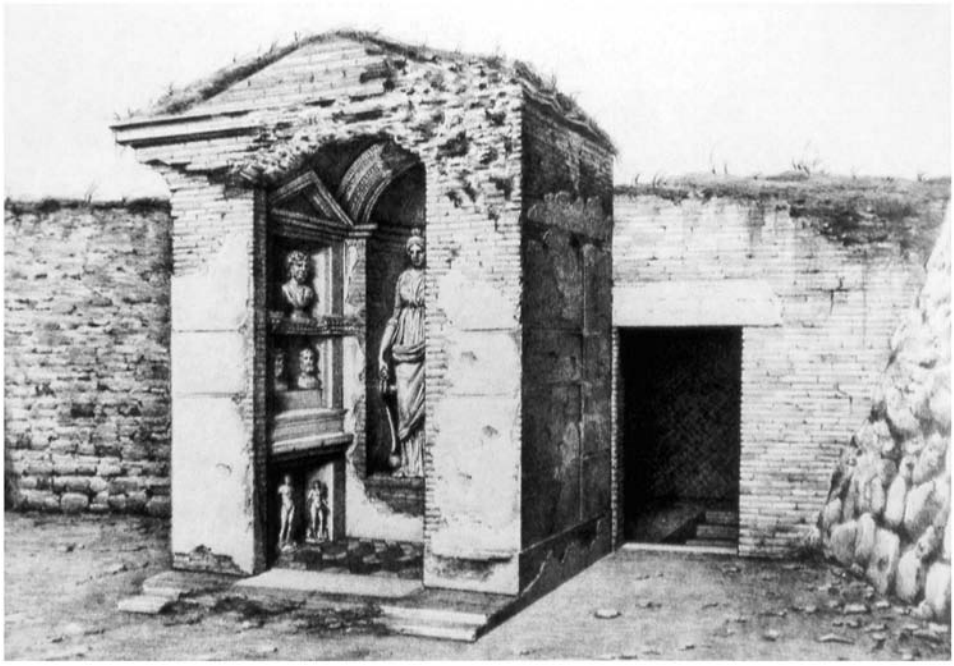

Fig. 1a: Aedicula of Isis-Fortuna at S. Martino ai Monti, reconstruction

their name or, at least, a substitute for it (e.g. Bona Dea), the Christian god, like his Jewish precedent, was referred to simply as 'god' by his worshippers.

The exclusive attribution of all functions to a single divine concept had another side to it, which was to eventually favor the spread of Christianity quite significantly. The Christian and Jewish gods could easily be transferred from one place to another without any modification of functional foci. While it was always possible to export a god of any polytheistic system in the same way, such a move could not be completed without assimilating the migrant deity to its new polytheistic environment, because the functional foci of the latter were not self-sufficient, but dependent on the divine 'constellations' of the polytheistic system surrounding it. Theoretically, it was a comparatively easy task to introduce, for instance, the cult of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus to the market places of Roman colonies. However, the outcome of this transfer was not the Roman Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. Rather, the migrant Iuppiter was normally either assimilated to prominent local deities or remained an outsider, constituting an additional functional

Fig. 1b: Statue of Isis-Fortuna from the aedicula at S. Martino ai Monti

focus, i.e. that of 'Romanity'. The homogeneity of functional foci of the Christian and Jewish gods throughout the ancient world could thus never be achieved by any god hailing from a polytheistic system. In short, the Christian and Jewish gods were basically the only truly international divine concepts in the ancient world in functional terms.

5. *Iconography*

Theoretically speaking, the number of visual forms of divine concepts is infinite. As with all concepts, though, Roman culture is highly selective in its choice of dominant visual forms connected with the divine. These were often labeled, and thus became, 'types' or, as I shall call them, 'iconographic foci'. The totality of such forms shall be called 'iconography'.

The iconography of pagan Roman gods may be conveniently divided into human-shaped and non-human-shaped representations. Human-shaped representations form the vast majority of official Roman cult images. Non-anthropomorphic cult objects are few. To begin with, we must mention the spear of Mars (apparently displayed in the Regia together with other fetishes such as two lances [*hastae Martis*] and two shields [*ancilia*]). Other cases are the boundary stone (*terminus*) of Terminus, the flint-stone (*silex*) of Iuppiter Feretrius, the baetyls of Magna Mater and Elagabal, and the flame of Vesta. Some further remarks are in place, however.

With regard to the spear of Mars, a number of sources attest explicitly to its divine nature.[380] But apart from the fact that the worship of such an object would be unique among the official cults of Rome, the spear was displayed not in a temple, but a profane building, viz. the Regia. I have already argued above that it was predominantly the connection with divine space that turned a statue into a cult statue.[381] If am right, it is legitimate to conclude by analogy that the spear was in fact not an equivalent to the cult statue of Mars, but originally a symbol of the martial powers of the *king* (and not the god) residing in or close to the Regia.

As for the remaining aniconic representations, their exceptional character can be briefly surveyed. Terminus was not only aniconic, but also

[380] Varro *antiq.* fr. 254* [Cardauns]; Plut. *Rom.* 29.1; Arn. *adv. nat.* 6.11.
[381] See chapter I.1.

immovable, i.e. exempted from exauguration, and worshipped under the open sky, i.e. explicitly not in a temple. In his divine form, he was thus truly indistinguishable from the thousands of actual boundary stones in and outside the city. It was this indistinctiveness which gave every boundary stone in the landscape a strongly divine aura as a potential 'cult statue' of the god. In other words, the aniconic appearance of Terminus served very practical ends. Iuppiter Feretrius appears to be the only hypostasis of an otherwise anthropomorphic Roman god that was simultaneously worshipped in non-human form (that is, of course, if we exclude the case of the spear of Mars). This can be explained if we assume that the epithet *Feretrius* did not originally denote a specific Iuppiter-type, but an independent deity that was worshipped in the particular form of a sacred stone (just like Terminus), before merging with Iuppiter.[382] Even gods that were originally worshipped in an aniconic form soon received a human iconography. Thus, Magna Mater was transferred from Asia Minor (where she was normally worshipped in human form) in the shape of a baetyl, but appears in Roman art as a female figure, recognisable by a turreted crown on her head and/or lions accompanying her. In the same vein, the meteorite of the god Elagabal soon assumed human iconography.[383] Vesta is represented in anthropomorphic form during a *lectisternium* performed in 217 B.C.[384] Statues of her are also attested earlier on the Forum, on the Palatine and elsewhere in Rome.[385]

In short, official iconographic foci in Rome were, or soon became, anthropomorphic. By contrast, private cult practice showed its usual flexibility in this respect. It is sufficient to refer to the worship of a coin by the *gens Servilia*, which allegedly presaged the vicissitudes of the family.[386] The cult of Vesta in the Forum Romanum may have been a residue of such private worship, possibly from a royal context.

Another indication of the tendency towards personification is the fact that human-shaped cult images of abstracta are attested from very early on: for instance, the cult image of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium (sixth century B.C.?)[387] and other extant Republican cult images of

[382] See chapter I.1.
[383] For the iconography of both Magna Mater and Elagabal see also chapter II.1.
[384] Liv. 22.10.9.
[385] Enn. *ann.* 240 [Sk]; Varro *agr.* 1.1.4; Degrassi 1963, 452; T. Fischer-Hansen, in: *LIMC* V.1 (1990), 412.
[386] Plin. *nat.* 34.137.
[387] Martin 1987, 21–23.

abstract notions from Rome (Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Fides, Mens [?]) are all anthropomorphic.[388] The same tendency towards personification is further supported by divine nomenclature. In order to create divine 'personal' names from abstract nouns, the latter are often slightly modified in order to mark their 'personal', non-abstract aspect. For example, the river was *Tiber*, while the river-god appeared as *Tiberinus; robigo* denoted the mildew that befell the grain, while *Robigus* was the god who averts it; *flos* was the 'flower', *Flora* the patron goddess of vegetation; *Portunus* the god of harbours (*portus*), *Ianus* the protector of entrances (*ianua*) etc. One should also remember that many so-called 'functional' gods were similar to, but not identical with, the Latin word denoting their competences.[389] On a psychological level, there can be little doubt that such a creation of 'proper names' from appellatives served to transform the appellative notion into a more familiar, 'god-type' person with an individual name.

Often, iconographic aspects of Roman gods were adopted from outside. Most obviously, the identification of Roman gods with their Greek counterparts was omnipresent in Roman iconography from early on. For instance, we find Volcan iconographically identified with Hephaistos in Rome from at least the beginning of the sixth century B.C.[390] Being foreign did not imply a lack of focal potential in terms of iconography. Greek cult statues were transferred to Rome and served there as cult statues in the second century B.C.;[391] indeed, Augustus chose works of famous Greek artists as cult statues for his new Palatine temple of Apollo.[392] On the other hand, it would seem that a new iconographic type was created for the cult statue of Mars Ultor (see below). Accordingly, it was not the provenance of the iconographic type but the spatial setting in which it was displayed that mattered.[393]

Iconography was, on occasion, directly linked to its particular spatial setting. One may refer to the case of Terminus, who, apart from his non-anthropomorphic appearance, had special spatial demands, i.e. a

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[388] Fortuna Huiusce Diei: Martin 1987, 103–111, 120–123, 213–215; Fides: Martin 1987, 218f.; Mens: Martin 1987, 123–131; 220f.

[389] For example 'Segetia' = 'goddess of standing crops', cf. *seges, -etis f.* = 'standing crop'. A similar observation is made already by Varro ap. Aug. *civ.* 4.24 = Varro *antiqu.* fr. 189 [Cardauns].

[390] North 1989, 579f.; Cornell 1995, 162f.

[391] Vermeule 1987, 19; Edwards 2003, 50.

[392] See chapter I.4.

[393] See chapter I.1.

hypaethral cult place. Another case in point might have been Vesta in her Forum temple, whose aniconic cult (if there has ever been such thing) related perhaps to the fact that she was worshipped in a circular sanctuary. Gods connected with lightning, such as Iuppiter Fulgur or Semo Sancus, may generally have been worshipped in an aniconic form, given their distinct functional foci. Therefore, it may be no coincidence that according to reliable sources their temples were hypaethral.[394]

The vast majority of Roman gods, for example the 'functional gods' or many deified abstract notions, had no iconography at all. Normally, it was only the more popular deities who were fixed by iconographic focalization. This meant that the worship of major Roman gods focused where it did, on a limited number of types from a vast pool of potential visual representations of the god. Even among those types that were actually realized in Roman art, only a small number—i.e. the actual cult images—served as iconographic foci. For instance, Iuppiter could be represented in many different ways. However, his Capitoline cult image, the iconographic focus of the cult of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, was fixed, viz. the god was represented seated and bare-breasted, with a cloak around his waist and legs.[395] By contrast, the cult statue of Iuppiter Tonans represented the god naked, stepping forward and holding a sceptre in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left.[396] Similarly, the cult effigy of Mars Ultor is seen standing upright in martial pose, wearing a cuirass and helmet and leaning on a lance with his right hand. In his left hand he holds a shield.[397]

In other words, while countless different representations of divine concepts were conceivable, the number of actual iconographic foci was extremely limited. For a modern observer it is not always easy to distinguish both categories. A case in point is the findings from the Iseum Metellinum, where five or six marble heads from statues of Isis were unearthed in 1887. They clearly confirm that Isis was conceptualized within the same sanctuary in many different ways: all the

[394] However, the causal connection did not work in reverse: for instance, the temples of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, of Hercules in the Forum Boarium and of Hercules Musarum in the Circus Flaminius were round, though their cult images were apparently of an ordinary type (P. Gros, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 269f.; F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 11f.; A. Viscogliosi, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 17–19).

[395] See below in this chapter on the assimilation of this type to the emperor.

[396] F. Canciani, in: *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997), 425 [no. 4]; Martin 1988, 254f.

[397] E. Simon, in: *LIMC* II (1984), 515f. [no. 24]; Martin 1988, 255–257.

heads belong to different types.[398] But iconography was not necessarily tantamount to cultic focalization. It is quite possible that none of the heads actually represented the iconography of the cult statue of the Iseum Metellinum.

In fact, Isis is a good example of the arbitrary selection of actual iconographic foci. Despite the wealth of archaeological material, only three iconographic types of the Egyptian goddess have hitherto been identified with types of cult statues of the goddess. Isis Panthea is found on coins (see below), and it has been suggested that Isis Frugifera may be represented in a mutilated relief, found close to the theatre of Marcellus, in the second century A.D., though the work may be a Roman copy of a Hellenistic prototype.[399] However, the identification of this Isis-type with Isis Frugifera is based solely on the millet stalks seen to the right of the goddess. Unfortunately, the relief is damaged on either side. One may wonder, then, whether Isis Frugifera would not better be identified with the well-documented Isis-Demeter type, conventionally depicted standing upright, with a torch in her right hand, an ear of corn in her left and a *modius* on her head. This form of the goddess is also attested in Rome.[400] By contrast, at least one iconographic type of Isis Pelagia or Pharia is well known. Here she is represented as striding to the left or right and holding, with her two hands and one foot, a sail that appears to be bellied out by the wind. Some of these representations belong to the first century A.D. or even earlier. However, the vast majority is found in the second century, with many on eastern coins. The first archaeologically attested Roman examples apparently belong to the second century A.D.[401] Despite the good documentation of this type, it has been questioned whether this was the iconography of the actual cult statue of Isis Pelagia. Other Isis-types may have replaced it.[402] The only certain fact is that there was a temple or shrine to Isis Pelagia in the city, for which we have epigraphical evidence.[403]

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[398] Malaise 1972, 172f. [no. 315] [mentioning five heads of Isis, but M. de Vos, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 111 speaks of 6].
[399] Malaise 1972, 214 [no. 392].
[400] Malaise 1972, 224 [no. 409]; Malaise 1972a, 180; Tran Tam Tinh, in: *LIMC* V.1 (1990), 781 [nos 262–265, esp. no. 262], 793f.
[401] Tran Tam Tinh, in: *LIMC* V.1 (1990) 782–784, esp. 783 [no. 293].
[402] Tran Tam Tinh in: *LIMC* V.1 (1990), 794.
[403] *CIL* VI 8707 with L. Chioffi, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 114.

The emperor had no specific divine iconography of his own. Rather, his divine nature had to be conceptualized artificially through assimilation with traditional gods, most notably Iuppiter (but also through other deities according to imperial taste). This meant a double similarity: the iconography of the emperor had to reflect both the individual features of the monarch and those of a specific god to such an extent that each was separately recognizable. There were essentially two ways to achieve these ends, physical assimilation and divine attributes. Both were often combined.

To begin with physical assimilation, statuary types of Augustus and other rulers were frequently modelled on Iuppiter types, most notably the cult statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. Indeed, the latter was the first Jovian type to be assimilated into the imperial image, and is already attested from the early imperial period onward.[404] It is more than likely that the cult statue of Augustus, erected after his posthumous deification in his new temple, imitated this type. Indeed, the layout of his temple itself may well have imitated that of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus.[405] Other cases of physical assimilation of Augustus to a god are generally ambiguous, unless supported by specific attributes. A relatively clear case is a cameo from Vienna, on which the victorious princeps is depicted upright in a quadriga drawn by four Tritons, clearly imitating a well-known posture of Neptune. A slightly earlier cameo from Boston shows the princeps, again in a quadriga, this time drawn over the waters by horses. Augustus is clearly identified with Neptune through the trident in his left hand.[406] A number of coin issues, some of which (though hitherto ascribed to eastern mints) may be of western or even Roman origin, depict Augustus in the shape of Iuppiter, Apollo, Neptune or Mars.[407]

Another way to assimilate the emperor to divine concepts was through the addition of divine attributes. Many imperial attributes were more or less reminiscent of specific traditional deities, especially Iuppiter. For instance, Augustus was represented on coins struck in Rome during

[404] Maderna 1988, 18–55; for the iconographic types of the various cult statues of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus during the course of the history of the temple see Krause 1981, 1–177.

[405] Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 86f.; Fishwick II.1, 520; Fishwick 1992, 232–245, esp. 243–245.

[406] Zanker 1990, 102f. with figs. 81f.

[407] Albert 1981, 21–38, 147–151 with A. Burnett, *Gnomon* 55 (1983), 563f.

his lifetime as carrying the Jovian sceptre.[408] It is with this attribute of the highest god that the princeps appears on a cameo possibly of the Augustan age or slightly later,[409] and on the Gemma Augustea.[410] The Jovian eagle is depicted next to Augustus on the same gem, and also on a coin issue from the East dating from 27 B.C.[411] Similarly, the thunderbolt appears next to the head of Augustus on a coin issued in Rome under Tiberius,[412] while the same symbol is depicted on coins from the East even during Augustus' lifetime.[413] In sculpture, the princeps is represented in a famous bronze statue from Herculaneum with a thunderbolt. The piece is presumably of Augustan date and may have been manufactured in Rome.[414] The princeps also appears with the aegis in the Cameo Strozzi from the Augustan period.[415] Apart from such Jovian symbolism, we find the monarch with the characteristic staff of Mercury (*caduceus*), e.g. on a terracotta plaque from the Horti Sallustiani,[416] on an engraved gem from the Marlborough collection,[417] and on a wall decoration of a Roman villa.[418] A denarius of 39 B.C. shows the head of Octavian on the obverse and a *caduceus* on the reverse side. However, the legend on the reverse reads *Antonius Imperator*.[419] One may also refer to the trident, a requisite of Neptune, in the hand of the princeps on a cameo from Boston, referred to above.[420] Capricorn, Augustus' zodiac sign, is frequently depicted in connection with the head of Augustus on eastern coins.[421] The laurel, originally an Apollonian requisite, was reinstrumentalized as a sign of Augustan triumph in the form of two laurel trees planted at the entrance of the

[408] *HCC* I, 3f., 6.
[409] Eichler / Kris 1927, 51 no. 6.
[410] Eichler / Kris 1927, 52–56 no. 7 with Meyer 2000, 59–80 [who favours a Claudian date].
[411] Albert 1981, 139.
[412] *HCC* I, 59 no. 1.
[413] *HCC* I, 52 no. 268.
[414] West 1933, 149–151, pl. 38 no. 162.
[415] F. Canciani, in: *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997), 455f. [no. 406]; for the dating of the Cameo Strozzi cf. Vollenweiler 1966, 60, 67. For the aegis as an imperial attribute in general see Alföldi 1970, 239f.
[416] Chittenden 1945, 50–52.
[417] E. Simon, in: *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), 516 [no. 187].
[418] Brendel 1935.
[419] *RRC* I, 532.
[420] Zanker 1990, 102f. with fig. 82.
[421] Albert 1981, 140–143; Wallace-Hadrill 1986, 76; F. Gury, in: *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997), 495.

monarch's Palatine residence. It is documented elsewhere in Augustan art, for example on the Augustan compital altars.[422]

Apart from all this detailed evidence, it is important to keep in mind the general principle of similarity that binds it together: while the actual realization of the imperial iconography lay in the hands of artists and differed according to their means, talent and time invested, the actual principle under which these artists endeavored to establish the divinity of the emperor was not time-bound. By compiling corpora of ancient imagery such as *LIMC* and other reference works, modern scholars easily overlook the fact that not only the preservation in time, but also the actual realization of an iconographic type was a matter of chance. The emperor could be represented in the posture of Iuppiter, or with an eagle or a thunderbolt or the aegis, or a combination of these: the principle of similarity allowed for countless substitutions and omissions as long as recognizability was guaranteed. Even if all images of the divine emperor that had ever been manufactured in the ancient world were preserved, this collection would remain a rather arbitrary set. A Roman artist could have easily added to this corpus on the principle of visual similarity, even if he eventually decided not to.

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Iconographic foci interacted, especially in the imperial period. For instance, Valetudo, goddess of personal health, borrowed her iconography and the snake as a requisite from her nearest Greek correspondent, Hygieia. She appeared thus on the reverse of a Roman coin struck by Mn. Acilius in 49 B.C. (the head of Salus is depicted on the obverse).[423] Meanwhile, the old Roman goddess of 'public welfare', Salus (Publica), whose cult in Rome was certainly much older than the dedication of her temple in 302 B.C.,[424] eventually adopted the snake from Hygieia/Valetudo in the second half of the first century A.D. in her new shape as Salus Augusti: the reason being that in the meantime the emperor's personal health had become tantamount to public welfare.[425]

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[422] Alföldi 1973, *passim*; Hano 1986, 2367–2369.

[423] *RRC* I, 461; F. Croissant, in: *LIMC* V.1 (1990), 558 [no. 39], 570 (cf. V. Saladino, in: *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997), 172 [no. 1]); Clark 2007, 153f., 158f.

[424] Wissowa 1912, 132.

[425] Winkler 1995, 90–92; cf. V. Saladino, in: *LIMC* VII.1 (1994), 657 [no. 22], 658f. [nos 42–51] al. For possible consequences of this identification for the cult of Aesculapius see Winkler 1995, 150–155 (Hygieia and Aesculapius were depicted in the pediment of Domitian's temple of the Capitoline triad).

a b

Fig. 2a and b: Coin of M. Plaetorius Cestianus

The interaction of iconographic foci can best be demonstrated by the example of Isis. The gradual expansion of her functional foci led to an usurpation of various symbols and iconographic types of other traditional gods. In her most extreme form, she appeared as all-goddess (*panthea*), perhaps as early as the first half of the first century B.C., on a Roman coin type struck by the moneyer M. Plaetorius Cestianus (figs. 2 a, b). This early date for a pantheistic Isis type has been called into question, but it is beyond reasonable doubt that the coin represents a pantheistic deity, whether under the name of Isis or that of another deity.[426] Alföldi, the first to recognize Isis Panthea on the Cestianus issue, gives further evidence of coins and gems for such pantheistic deities in the first century B.C.[427] Later, Isis Panthea is also represented on bronze dedications via the various attributes of traditional gods (*signa panthea*), dating perhaps to the second century A.D. Similar bronzes have been found representing Venus.[428]

Apart from the pantheistic Isis, a number of types of the Egyptian goddess reflect iconographic foci of traditional Roman deities. Isis-

[426] For an identification with Isis Panthea: Alföldi 1954, 30f.; Vidman 1970, 101f.; Takács 1995, 48f; *RRC* I, 436f. ["identification as Isis…perhaps correct"]; *contra* Malaise 1972, 240 [no. 443g].

[427] Alföldi 1954, 31.

[428] Weisshäupl 1910 with Eichler 1952; for Isis Panthea in art cf. Tran Tam Tinh, in: *LIMC* V.1 (1990), 786f., 795.

Fortuna, the most popular syncretistic Isis type, may have had her origin in Hellenistic Delos.[429] The best known example of this type is the Isis-Fortuna from Herculaneum, dating to the first century A.D., now in the Museum of Naples (fig. 3). Characteristic is the 'Isis knot' on the chest and the horns with the plumed disc on the head of the goddess. Meanwhile, requisites of Fortuna are the steering oar in the left and the cornucopia in the right hand.[430] As far as Rome is concerned, there is a marble statuette from the Vatican Museums (fig. 4) and another, now in Florence, but perhaps originally from Rome. Both date to the second century A.D.[431] A special case is a marble statue of Isis-Fortuna, found in an aedicula (shrine/lararium?) on the Esquiline and dating to the era of Constantine. The statue was apparently found *in situ*, together with other furnishings of the aedicula. Isis' syncretistic iconography was 'framed' by marble sculptures of other gods (though decidedly smaller in size), which include both traditional Roman deities such as Iuppiter and Apollo, and Egyptian deities such as Sarapis and Harpocrates (figs. 1 a, b).[432]

Isis was assimilated not only to Fortuna, but also to Demeter.[433] This syncretistic Isis-Demeter type is attested on a relief (fig. 5) found in the Via della Conciliazione in Rome in 1941 and now in the Capitoline Museums. The relief is attributed to the first half of the second century A.D.[434] It shows four figures standing, (from left to right) the dedicant (head missing), Isis-Demeter, Sarapis and Persephone (?). Cerberus is represented between Isis-Demeter and Sarapis, Harpocrates between Sarapis and Persephone, both approximately half the size of the other figures. Isis is characterized by the 'Isis knot', while she holds a torch in her right arm, wears a calathus and perhaps carries (the stone is broken) ears of corn in her left hand. The two former elements, at least, are clear requisites of Demeter. If the figure on the right is indeed to be identified with Persephone, she again has adopted foreign iconographic foci, namely the sceptre and the sistrum in her lowered left hand. It has been suggested that, despite the location of

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[429] Tran Tam Tinh, in: *LIMC* V.1 (1990), 784–786, 794f.
[430] Malaise 1972, 254f. [no. 10]; Tran Tam Tinh, in: *LIMC* V.1 (1990), 784 [no. 305c].
[431] Vittozzi 1993, 224 with 238f. n. 11.
[432] Malaise 1972, 176f. [no. 324–328]; Vittozzi 1993 [fundamental]; J. Calzini Gysens, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 115.
[433] Tran Tam Tinh, in: *LIMC* V.1 (1990), 781, 793f.
[434] Malaise 1972, 229f.; Tran Tam Tinh, in: *LIMC* V.1 (1990), 781 [no. 262].

Fig. 3: Isis-Fortuna from Herculaneum

Fig. 4: Isis-Fortuna, marble statue from Rome, Vatican Museums

Fig. 5: Isis-Demeter on a relief found in Rome Via della Conciliazione

the find, the piece was manufactured in Alexandria.[435] Another representation of Isis–Demeter is found in a wall-painting discovered in a house under the Baths of Caracalla in 1867 (now in the Antiquarium of the Palatine). Unfortunately, the painting is in a poor condition. It appears that Isis is depicted wearing the basileion and holding a torch in her right hand, and perhaps ears of corn in her left. The painting may be dated approximately to the second half of the second century A.D. (fig. 6).[436]

There is no need to further elaborate on iconographic foci of various forms of Isis. It is clear that even if no pieces of art had been lost over the centuries, completeness in conceptual terms would be beyond reach. For a conceptual catalogue of such pieces, in marked contrast to a historical positivistic catalogue, would also have to include those works that *could have been* manufactured, but never were. For a conceptual approach, then, the historical boundaries of execution and preservation are much more artificial.

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[435] E. Simon, in: Helbig II, 34 [no. 1185].

[436] Malaise 1972, 224 [no. 409]; Iacopi 1985, esp. 619f. [wall B, second phase, fig. 3, 7, 20, 24]; J. Calzini Gysens, in: *LTUR*, III.1 (1996), 114f.

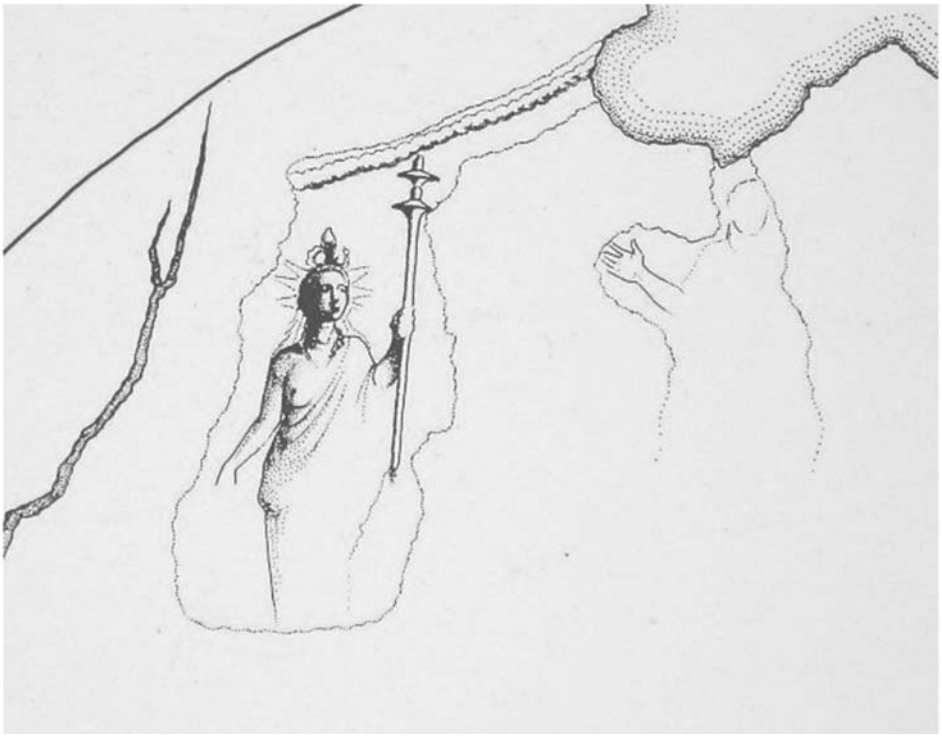

Fig. 6: Isis-Demeter on a wall-painting in a house under the Baths of Caracalla

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Although Christian art is in evidence in Rome from the second century A.D.,[437] the Christian god had no iconographic foci in the capital until the age of Constantine. In a magisterial study, the Christians' rejection of idolatry throughout the Mediterranean was thrown into relief by N. H. Baynes more than fifty years ago.[438] Numerous passages from Justin, Origen, Eusebius and other early Christian authors demonstrate beyond doubt that the early Christians steadfastly abided by the third commandment with uncompromising austerity: "You shall not make for yourself a graven image…".[439] Despite the occasional scorn poured

[437] Elsner 2003, 73f.
[438] Baynes 1955, especially 116–125.
[439] *Exodus* 20.4.

by educated pagans on the adherence to idolatry,[440] it was, in fact, their great opponent, i.e. the early Christians (following the Jewish precedent), who enforced, with a rare perfection, a complete ban on idolatry.

For our task, it is important to note that the absence of idolatry (and hence of iconography and iconographical focalization) was intrinsically connected to a lack of spatial focalization of the early cult of the Christian god. For spatial and iconographic focalization went hand in hand: an iconographic focus implied a spatial focus, i.e. the place where the icon was erected.[441] It is hardly a coincidence that it was only with the emergence of the first spatial foci of the Christian cult that the veneration of images can also be traced among the Christians. The watershed was the era of Constantine. Our first reliable witness, Eusebius, mentions for instance icons of Peter, Paul, and Jesus.[442]

Of course, the lack of iconographic foci in the early Christian and Jewish traditions was not only the result of blind and unselfish obedience to the third commandment. Any iconographic focalization would have implied an exclusion of other iconographic concepts. However, such an exclusion could scarcely be reconciled with the postulated omnipotence and omnipresence of the Jewish and Christian concepts of the divine. If god had a shape, this shape had to be located somewhere. In other words, the presence of god, and as a result his powers, would have been limited. Besides, the avoidance of iconographic focalization made a reinterpretation and adaptation of the Jewish and Christian gods into an existing iconographic environment an easy task. For instance, in its iconographic indistinctiveness the Christian god could be easily interpreted as Iuppiter, Mars, Isis or other gods. This avoidance of focalization was one reason for the conviction, harbored by many pagan proselytes, that the Christian god was not just an addition to the existing pagan pantheon, but its abstract synthesis. Furthermore, in promotional terms, in their lack of iconographic fixation the Jewish and Christian gods were much more versatile and marketable than their divine competitors. In fact, in terms of iconography (as in other respects) these two forms constituted the only truly international divine concepts in the ancient world.

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[440] Feeney 1998, 92–97.
[441] See chapter I.1.
[442] Eus. *hist. ecl.* 7.18 al., with Baynes 1955, 125–143.

6. *Ritual*

Human actions may be divided into those that follow a specific pattern and those that do not. Actional patterns, in turn, can be analyzed in various ways. In our context, we are interested in those actional patterns that are directed towards, i.e. presuppose the direct and unmediated participation by, divine concepts. We shall call these cult actions.

Cult actions can be spontaneous, improvised and therefore unsystematic, or conversely, they can follow a pattern of periodical repetition, sanctioned by tradition. Henceforth, I refer to cult actions that are conducted according to such a pattern as 'ritual'. I refer to the act of selecting certain rituals and relating them to a specific deity as ritual focalization. Virtually any human action can become a cultic action, and any cultic action in turn can be submitted to a specific repetitive pattern and therefore be ritualized.

It must be noted that some of the most important Roman rituals such as the sacrifice, considered on their own, were rather unspecific. They mark the difference between the divine and the human, but not the specific, individual nature of the divine concept thus conceptualized. It was most notably the spatial and temporal focus within which the ritual focus was contextualized that made the latter a constituent of a *specific* god. *Vice versa*, a ritual focus reinforced significantly and partly determined the spatial and temporal focus in which it operated. For instance, the focal character of a temple was to a large extent determined by the rituals, especially sacrifices, performed in it. On the other hand, a sacrifice of a ram in, or at, the temple of Iuppiter, was by implication a *Jovian* ritual (here: *ovis Idulis*).[443] The same interaction can also be observed between rituals and temporal foci. For instance, various unspecific rituals such as the offering of wine, incense, and sacred meals, were performed repeatedly by the arvals during the celebrations of Dea Dia for three days in May (temporal focus). However, it was only on the second day that these were actually performed in, or at, the sanctuary of the goddess.[444] Consequently, the various rituals performed outside the sanctuary reinforced not the spatial, but the temporal focus of the cult of Dea Dia. The fact that the rituals were performed during the period in question and by specific personnel (the

[443] Ov. *fast.* 1.587f.
[444] See below in this chapter.

arvals) *made* them ritual foci of the cult of Dea Dia. A prime example of a spatial and temporal focus *together*, interacting with various, essentially independent ritual foci, were the Capitoline temple and the Ides of September (September 13). The anniversary of the temple fell on that day. The above-mentioned ram (*ovis Idulis*) was sacrificed on the Capitol on this day, as was normal on the Ides. A meal was offered to honor Iuppiter on the Capitol (*epulum Iovis*). A nail was driven into a wall of the Capitoline temple in a ceremonial context obscure to us. Not only spatial and temporal, but also personnel foci of a cult were related to its rituals. Thus the *flamines* defined, and were defined predominantly by, the performance of rituals to their specific gods. For instance, it was the *flamen Dialis* who offered the *ovis Idulis* and a lamb (?) to Iuppiter at the beginning of the vintage season,[445] while his wife, the *flaminica*, sacrificed a ram to Iuppiter in the Regia each month on the *Nonae*.[446] Furthermore, functional foci were related to rituals. It suffices here to recall Iuppiter's competence as a wine god, as supported by the ritual foci of the god's cult during the two wine festivals (*Vinalia*, April 23 and August 19) or by the sacrifice conducted by the *flamen Dialis* at the beginning of the vintage season, referred to above. Similarly, one may point to rituals targeting Apollo during his Games (*ludi Apollinares*, July 6–13). These were characterized by theatrical performances, to such an extent that later associations of actors dubbed themselves *parasiti Apollinis*. The Games, therefore, clearly highlighted the functional focus of the god of letters and culture, not the unpopular healing god.[447] In the same vein, sacrificial animals were on occasion chosen for the functional foci of the gods in question. For instance, gods of the underworld received dark-colored victims, and Mars, as the god of war, received the sacrificial horse.[448] Finally, rituals interacted with iconographic foci. For it was not any representation of the god, but the specific cult image that was targeted by the ritual. One could add further evidence, but it is already clear that ritual foci blended in with all the other constituent concepts of the divine.

The rituals employed to venerate traditional Roman gods were relatively few in number and kind. They included sacrifices, meals,

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[445] Varro *ling.* 6.16. For the possible sacrifice of a female victim to Iuppiter during the *Vinalia Rustica* see chapter I.2.

[446] Macr. *sat.* 1.16.30.

[447] Degrassi 1963, 477–479.

[448] Wissowa 1912, 413f.

Games, processions, theatrical or musical performances and quite often a combination of these. Foreign ritual foci were admissable, an example being those of Isis: apart from the daily observances, which were no doubt idiosyncratic to Roman taste,[449] two annual festivals are prominent. The first was concerned with the recovery and revival of the dismembered Osiris-Sarapis (*Heuresis*). Details of the ritual are given by later sources, mainly Minucius Felix (*ca.* 200 A.D.) and Firmicus Maternus (fourth century).[450] What becomes clear is the fact that the entire ritual resembled a theatrical performance, staging Isis, the jackal-headed Anubis, Isis' sister Nephtys (cult statues? actors?) and the shaved (i.e. male) priests searching for the remains of the dismembered Osiris-Sarapis, while the Isiac worshippers retired into mourning. After the resurrection of the god, a day of rejoicing followed (*Hilaria*). Both the date and the details of the festivals changed between the *Menologia Rustica* of the first century A.D., which mention only the *Heuresis* in mid-November and the *Calendar of Philocalus*, belonging to the mid-fourth century A.D., which mentions the *Isia* (apparently the same as the festival of *Heuresis*) from October 28 onwards. Later at least, the festival may have included a chorus of 27 participants on November 2, and a day of rejoicing, the *Hilaria*, on November 3.[451] The rituals were most likely connected with the sacrifice of goose livers, already attested for the cult of Isis by Ovid and attributable to the month of November, thanks to the depiction of a goose in conjunction with Isis on the *Calendar of Philocalus* under this month.[452]

The second festival, the *Isidis navigium* on March 5, inaugurated the new navigation season. This festival too is attested from the first century A.D. We do not have information about its nature in Rome. However, Apuleius provides a long description of the celebrations in Cenchreae.[453] In the presence of the cult statues (Isis, Osiris), the high priest purified a ship which had been decorated with Egyptian scenes, using a burning torch, an egg and sulphur. The ship was then named and dedicated to the goddess. On its sail a prayer was inscribed, asking for safe navigation during the new season. Various offerings were loaded

[449] Malaise 1972a, 139f.; ibid. 230–238.
[450] Min. Fel. 23.1 [Loeb]; Firm. Mat. *de err. prof. relig.* 2.1–3 al.
[451] Malaise 1972a, 224–228.
[452] Ov. *fast.* 1.453f.
[453] Apul. *met.* 11.16f.; cf. Malaise 1972a, 217–221; Griffiths 1975, 31–47; for the archaeological evidence see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 164–175.

on to the ship and others poured into the sea, before the vessel was despatched. A fresco from an Iseum, presumably dating to the second (first?) century A.D. and found under the church of S. Sabina on the Aventine, may depict the ritual.[454] An ex-voto marble ship, which lends its name to the church of S. Maria in Navicella has likewise been connected to the ritual.[455]

Other Isiac rituals in Rome are less known. At the end of the second century A.D., we hear of *pausae* in Rome performed by *pausarii*. These were apparently some kind of Isiac processions with regular 'stops' on the way.[456] Besides, the *lychnapsia* (if these belonged to Isis) on August 12 denoted (as can be gauged from the meaning of the word) the lighting of lamps, and followed an age-old Egyptian tradition.[457] Finally, a *sacrum Phariae* is attested in the first century A.D. (*Pharia* is a frequent epithet of Isis by Roman writers from the Augustan period onwards).[458] However, no details are known. It should also be noted that there seems to be no evidence for ritual meals for any Egyptian god in Italy.[459] In short, then, fundamentally different ritual foci could and did co-exist in Rome. A new cult could, by and large, maintain its ritual identity and still be considered Roman, as was the case with the cult of Isis at least from the first century A.D. onwards.

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From information offered by the acts of the arvals we can glean the most important ritual foci of the imperial cult, namely the sacrifice. It appears that they were composite forms, whose components (but not the whole architecture) were mostly drawn from the cult of the Republican gods.[460] An example is the offering of incense and wine (*ture et vino*), made before a sacrifice for the well-being of the emperor. This act was modelled on the ritual offering of the same substances in the Republican *supplicationes*.[461] In the same vein, the conventional sacrifice

[454] Malaise 1972, 226f. [no. 411d]. For the dating see M. Andreussi, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 114.
[455] Malaise 1972, 167 [no. 305].
[456] *SIRIS* no. 400; SHA *Pesc. Nig.* 6.9; *Carac.* 9.11 [both referring to Commodus]; Malaise 1972a, 106, 109.
[457] A. Rusch, in: *RE* suppl. 7 (1940), cols. 420–423; Malaise 1972a, 229f.
[458] Degrassi 1963, 445f.; Bricault 1996, 89 with n. 76.
[459] Malaise 1972a, 147 n. 9.
[460] Scheid 1990, 289–439.
[461] Scheid 1990, 331–333.

of a steer (*bos mas*) to the *divi* can, in fact, be interpreted as modelled on the standard sacrifice of the same animal to Iuppiter. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the *genius* of the emperor received the sacrifice of a bull, *taurus*, which elsewhere is especially connected with Mars.[462]

But sacrifice was only one mode of cultic action. There is evidence that a special dinner (*epulum*) was set up in honour of Augustus on his birthday.[463] Circus Games are attested both on his birthday and on the *Augustalia* (October 12). Furthermore, Livia, his spouse, established annual Games on the Palatine to honour her deified husband (January 17–22).[464] An image of the deified princeps was carried among the gods in the *pompa circensis*, i.e. the procession held on the occasion of major Games leading from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus.[465] We know of annual supplications held on Sept. 3, to commemorate the victory of Octavius/Augustus over Sextus Pompeius in 36 B.C.[466] In brief, the ritual foci of the cult of the emperor were generally modelled on the ritual foci of the cults of the traditional gods.

Ritual foci of official cults of various deities could interact at all times. A prime example during the Republican period involves some of the oldest Roman rituals on record: the congealed blood of the October Horse (sacrificed to Mars on October 15) was mixed by the vestals with the ashes of unborn calves, sacrificed and burnt in the process of the *Fordicidia* (sacred to Tellus, April 15), to be distributed to the people from the sanctuary of Vesta during the *Parilia* (presumably sacred to Pales, April 21).[467] To cite a later example, the *taurobolium*, the notorious splashing of the neophyte with the blood of a bull, as attested for the cult of Mithras, became an integral part of the cult of Magna Mater from the middle of the second century A.D.[468] Later, it was also connected with the imperial cult.[469] These cases serve to illustrate the unique susceptibility of ritual foci to reinterpretation and reinstrumentalization.

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[462] Fishwick II.1, 508f.
[463] Fishwick II.1, 585.
[464] Degrassi 1963, 400f.
[465] Fishwick II.1, 555; Feeney 1998, 96f.
[466] Degrassi 1963, 505f.
[467] Ov. *fast.* 4.640, 725–734.
[468] Cumont 1909, 65–68.
[469] Inscriptional evidence suggests that it was also made *pro salute et incolumitate domus divinae* as well as for individual emperors, see Nock I, 42.

Most ritual foci of official cults were related to corresponding spatial foci of the same cults. To put it simply, a ritual connected with the cult of Iuppiter was normally performed in a sanctuary of Iuppiter. But exceptions occur. For instance, the arvals conducted sacrifices for the well-being of the emperor on the Capitoline hill, although gods other than the Capitoline triad (with an individual temple elsewhere in the city) were also revered on that occasion.[470] Furthermore, the three-day sacrificial ceremony to Dea Dia started and ended in the house of the *magister* of the college. Only on the second day, when the blood sacrifice to Dea Dia was performed, do we find the arvals actually in or in front of the grove of the goddess.[471] However, the rituals of the first day 'anticipate' the ritual sequence of the second in exactly the same order, as highlighted by Scheid following a suggestion by Oldenberg.[472] It is, at least, a plausible guess that historically speaking, the former were modelled on the latter (the primary ritual focus of the cult of Dea Dia). The ceremony was performed on the first day independently of the spatial focus, i.e. the temple, of the goddess. Nevertheless, a cult statue of her was present in the house of the *magister*, where it was dressed, anointed and set up as a participant in the ritual meals.[473] As regards rituals performed outside the habitual spatial setting of a cult, we may also compare the nocturnal rites of Bona Dea. This was a public ceremony celebrated annually by the noble married women in the private residence of the acting consul under the guidance of the vestals. During the ceremony an image of the goddess, perhaps borrowed from the temple of the goddess, was set up.[474]

The acceptance of the supreme pontificate in 12 B.C. empowered Augustus to formally intervene in ritual matters. He used his new authority to 'redirect' a number of ritual foci of the cult of Capitoline Iuppiter to Mars Ultor, when the temple of the latter was eventually completed in 2 B.C. For example, during the Republic we find the *dictator clavi figendi causa* driving a nail into the wall of the Capitoline temple.[475] Under Augustus, this ceremony was transferred to the new temple of Mars, and was to be performed by the censor.[476] Furthermore, in the

[470] Scheid 1990, 323–326.
[471] Scheid 1990, 477–483.
[472] Scheid 1990, 475–641, esp. 476.
[473] Scheid 1990, 509, 519, 525–529, 541, 624.
[474] Brouwer 1989, 358–370, for the cult statue 368f.
[475] Latte 1960, 154.
[476] Dio 55.10.4.

Republic consuls and praetors who started on a campaign pronounced vows at the Capitoline temple and, on their return, dedicated the spoils of war there.[477] By contrast, after 2 B.C. magistrates who campaigned abroad took official leave from the temple of Mars Ultor, and, on their return, dedicated the standards of defeated enemies, along with the triumphal insignia (sceptre and wreath) there.[478] Indeed, Servius, possibly referring to a Republican custom, notes that after the assumption of the *toga virilis*, young men also used to "go to the Capitoline (scil. in order to sacrifice)".[479] The same is said of the temple of Mars.[480] In the old days, the triumph was granted to the successful general by a senatorial assembly, perhaps convened in the Capitoline temple on that occasion.[481] At any rate, from 2 B.C. the location of the senatorial meeting for that purpose was the temple of Mars.[482] Other rituals performed there (but not demonstrably derived from the Jovian cult) marked out Mars Ultor as of outstanding importance for Augustan propaganda.[483] This may have included the relocation of such age-old rituals as the procession of the Salii Palatini and perhaps rituals connected with Vesta.[484] Furthermore, two other deities intimately connected with Augustus appear to have been worshipped in Mars' temple, viz. Venus Genetrix and Divus Iulius.[485] It is interesting to note that the temple had been founded as a *private* foundation of Augustus and remained a "private stage of the domus Augusta" (for instance in terms of the statuary programme) despite the manifold ritual foci of the public cult of Mars mentioned above.[486]

The transference of ritual foci of a cult devoted to a specific deity to that of spatial foci of the cult of another god is not only in evidence in the case of the Capitoline temple and the sanctuary of Mars. The

[477] Liv. 38.48.16; 42.49.6; 45.39.11.

[478] Suet. *Aug.* 29.2; Dio 55.10.2–4; Accordingly, Augustus placed the standards of the Parthians there, Aug. *res gestae* 29.

[479] Serv. *ecl.* 4.49.

[480] Dio 55.10.2.

[481] For the declaration of war in the Capitoline temple cf. App. *Libyc.* 75 [348]. According to this passage the senate used to discuss there the subject of war in the Republican period. Mommsen, *StR* III, 928 n. 3 points out that this is not otherwise confirmed.

[482] Suet. *Aug.* 29.2; Dio 55.10.3f.

[483] Herz 1996, 279f.

[484] Herz 1996, 266–270.

[485] V. Kockel, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 292.

[486] Herz 1996, 272–274, 280f. esp. 280: "die private Bühne der domus Augusta".

transfer by Augustus of the Sibylline books, which were moved from the Capitol to the Palatine temple of Apollo, was very similar.[487] Some two hundred years later, Elagabal is said to have transferred, from their ancestral sanctuaries, major symbols of traditional Roman polytheism such as the stone of Magna Mater, the fire of Vesta, the Palladium of Minerva, the *ancilia* of Mars and other objects, and to have placed them in the temple of his new Syrian god.[488] The transfer of such religious artefacts naturally implied a transfer of the relevant rituals to the cult of the recipient god.

An official ritual order was established at a relatively early stage in the Republic, presumably on the authority of the *indigitamenta*. Details of this order are vague, but it is clear that Ianus and Iuppiter stood at the top and Vesta at the end of the list.[489] It is impossible to estimate how binding this order actually was. Inconsistencies emerge when we compare this order with the hierarchy of Roman priests, starting with the *rex sacrorum* and/or the *flamen* of Iuppiter (incidentally, Ianus had no priest) and ending with the *flamen Pomonalis* (and not, say, the vestals).[490] However, there is no need to harmonize both hierarchies. They may belong to different periods, different occasions, and possibly even different places.

Whatever the case with early Rome, in the historical period, and most conspicuously under the Empire, the spatial setting of religious rites had an impact on ritual sequence. Scheid has recently offered a fine analysis of the expiatory sacrifices performed by the arvals at the sanctuary of Dea Dia, based on information of the acts for the period from 183–240 A.D. After the offering of the *suovetaurilia* to Mars in front of the grove of Dea Dia (to define the space to which the actual expiatory ritual applied), sacrifices to more than a dozen gods are mentioned. They begin with a major sacrifice (a cow for each expiation) to Dea Dia, and minor sacrifices (a sheep) to Ianus, Iuppiter, Mars and the remaining gods. The list ends with Vesta, followed by a group of 'functional gods'.[491] Broadly speaking, the fixed ritual hierarchy of traditional gods (Ianus—Vesta) was retained, but

[487] Suet. *Aug.* 31.1; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.71–74.

[488] SHA *Elag.* 3.4; 6.6–7.1 with chapter II.1.

[489] Wissowa 1912, 103 with references. The priority of Ianus over Iuppiter is old, cf. Cato *agr.* 134.1–4.

[490] Fest. 144.10–14 [L]; 198.29–35 [L]; cf. Enn. *ann.* 116–118 [Sk] perhaps for the last six *flamines*.

[491] For the group of 'functional gods' see chapter I.4.

with important adjustments due to the specific spatial setting. The most important modification was that Dea Dia was first in line, for it was at her temple that the sacrifice was performed. It was she alone who, among the traditional gods, received a major victim slaughtered on the permanent altar (*ara*), while the other gods received minor victims offered on temporary altars of turf or other perishable materials (*arae temporales*).[492] We can run a cross-check: during the sacrifices offered by the arvals at the beginning of each year, the acts mention the invocation of Dea Dia *after* the Capitoline triad, for this ritual was traditionally performed in, or at, the *Capitoline temple*.[493]

During the expiation of the grove of Dea Dia, expiatory rituals were performed, not only to traditional gods in front of the temple, but also to the emperor and his predecessors at the nearby Caesareum, beginning with a major sacrifice (a bull) to the *genius* of the emperor and followed by minor sacrifices (sheep) to the Divi. Scheid has convincingly explained the ritual significance of the imperial *genius* here by referring to the specific location, which was essentially a sanctuary of the *domus Augusta*, whose representative was (apparently) the living ruler. By contrast, when the imperial cult was performed in the temple of the divine Augustus, priority was given to the Divi and, first of all, of course, to Divus Augustus. If Scheid's reconstructions are correct, in 66 A.D. the Arvals offered sacrifices in the following order: to Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius, Diva Claudia, Diva Poppaea Augusta, the *genius* of the emperor and the *iuno* of his wife, Messalina. The place where the sacrifice was performed is explicitly said to have been the new temple of Augustus.[494] A further note of importance is that on the *Augustalia* (October 12) a number of Divi and divinized members of the imperial family received sacrifices from the arvals (and presumably also other priesthoods) in the temple of Augustus. It comes as no surprise that on this occasion all rituals (i.e. primarily sacrifices) started with Augustus (followed by Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius etc.).[495] Lastly, on various imperial 'holidays' the arvals would offer a sacrifice in the Forum of Augustus, and that meant, apparently, at the temple of Mars Ultor. As a consequence, Mars Ultor was the first to receive

[492] Scheid 1990, 138–140; id. 2003, 167–172.
[493] Scheid no. 5 a–e, lines 17–30; no. 12 a, lines 3–13; cf. Scheid no. 40 I 1–7, lines 72–75.
[494] Scheid no. 30 cef lines 2–8.
[495] Scheid 1990, 418f.

a sacrifice and was followed by the *genius* of the emperor, although it was clearly the latter who provided the cause for the occasion.[496]

To summarize, the old ritual order of the Republican gods, whatever its actual applicability, was later significantly modified and accommodated into the ritual environment, especially in relation to new rituals which emerged as a result of the ascent of the imperial cult. An important parameter in this process of accommodation was the spatial setting of the rituals. The performance of a ritual at a spatial focus of a specific deity meant automatically a privileged (normally the first) position of the relevant deity in the ritual sequence.

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Among the various constituent concepts of the divine, it was rituals that led to restrictive measures by public authorities, if these rituals were felt to threaten law and order. For example, the rituals of the cult of Bacchus were responsible for the famous intervention by public authorities in 186 B.C. Although Livy, our material witness, is biased and largely uninformed on points of detail, he offers valuable evidence concerning the religious attitude of an educated representative of the Augustan age towards such 'exotic' rituals.

In Livy's view, one of the most striking features of the cult is its secrecy.[497] This observation is partly confirmed by the Tiriolo decree, which was issued by the Senate in 186 B.C. to contain the cult. It pronounced a ban on sacrifices performed '*in occulto*'.[498] Livy did not stop there. He decided to flesh out his informational gaps and thus to draw an exemplary picture of an 'anti-Roman' cult. For instance, customary meals set up to honour the gods were turned by him into exuberant banquets of the Bacchants; furthermore, in his account, mixed religious gatherings of pietists became sexual orgies; conventional animal sacrifices were transformed into murders of the dissenters; the accompanying flute of official religious ceremonies was replaced by the dazzling noise of tambourines and kettledrums; the age-old processions of maidens were pictured as the frenzy of matron bacchants, descending

[496] Scheid no. 28 a-c, lines 29f. [59–60 A.D.]; no. 40 I 1–7, lines 84–89 and II 1–5, lines 2–5 [69 A.D.]. At Scheid no. 28 a–c 37 [59–60 A.D.], mentioning only a sacrifice to the *genius* in the Forum Augusti, the sacrifice to Mars has dropped out through inadvertence.

[497] Cf. e.g. Liv. 39.8.5 *occultorum et nocturnorum… sacrorum*, 39.10.5 *silenda*, 39.13.5 *occulta initia*; Turcan 2003, 13f.

[498] *CIL* I² 581, line 15; Liv. 39.14.9: '*in operto*'.

to the bank of the Tiber and plunging their blazing torches into the fluvial water.[499] However, it is worth noting that the Augustan writer, as well as the Tiriolo decree, do in fact suggest that some 'Bacchan' rituals may be considered necessary (at least by the adherents of the cult of Bacchus) in order to maintain the *pax deorum*. They were therefore permitted by the authorities, if approved by a reasonably large number of senators.[500]

Not only Bacchus, but every deity could be conceptualized by means of unofficial and dangerous ritual foci. For instance, Dis pater, who was officially brought to Rome in the middle of the third century B.C., appears in Roman magic too.[501] Literary evidence confirms that Diana could be invoked in connection with unofficial and illicit religious practices in Rome.[502] Furthermore, the official character of the god of crop rust (Robigus) is warranted by the fact that his festival on 25 April belonged to the oldest calendar[503] and that the accompanying sacrifice to the god consisting of a dog and a sheep was performed by an official priest, the *flamen Quirinalis*.[504] On the other hand, the very act of protecting the crops by offering a sacrifice is reminiscent of the prohibition of the Twelve Tables against charming another's crops into one's own possessions.[505] One could add more evidence, but it suffices to state that beyond reasonable doubt virtually any god, even the Capitoline Iuppiter, could be worshipped by way of illicit rituals.[506]

The basic parameter for the decision whether a ritual focus was "right" (i.e. "rightfully referred to": *fas*) or wrong (*nefas*) was 'Roman custom' (*mos Romanus*). This is spelled out by Livy on the occasion of the *Bacchanalia*: he predicts that neglect of Roman custom (*more Romano*)

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[499] Liv. 39.8.5–8; 39.10.7; 39.13.10–14; 39.14.8; 39.15.6; 39.15.9; 39.15.12–14 etc.

[500] Liv. 39.18.8f.; *CIL* I² 581, lines 15–22.

[501] In a late Republican or early Augustan erotic curse tablet from Rome a young wife is delivered to Dis Pater, cf. *DT* no. 139.

[502] The witch Canidia at Hor. *epod.* 5.51 invokes "Diana, mistress of silence", before initiating a human sacrifice.

[503] Degrassi 1963, 448f.

[504] Ov. *fast.* 4.905–942.

[505] *RS* 682–684 and Dickie 2001, 142–145.

[506] Cf. the invocation of the Capitoline Iuppiter in a magic plea for justice from England, dated to ca. 200 A.D., in Gager 1992, 196 [no. 98]. Possibly the name of Iuppiter is hidden in a magic formula in Cato *agr.* 160: *motas vaeta daries dardares astataries dissunapiter*. But both the reading *dissunapiter* and the context are doubtful. Elsewhere, Iuppiter is referred to as the one who breaks the spell, cf. Gager 1992, 245f. [no. 135] with Hor. *epod.* 5.8.

and adoption of foreign rites (*externo ritu*) would plunge society into chaos.[507] It was 'Romanity' that counted, not the actual nature of the ritual focus in question. This attitude can be supported by further evidence. For instance, the inspection of entrails (performed by *haruspices*) and the observation of birds, lightning, and similar ominous events (performed by *auspices, augures*) constituted an integral part of official Roman religion. However, there would be essentially no difference in divining the future from, say, the constellation of stars (as done by the Chaldaeans) or from flashes of lightning (as done by the augurs), were it not for 'Roman custom', which incidentally sanctioned only the latter (despite its well-kown foreign [Etruscan] origin).[508] One may also point to the *prayers* (*preces*) of the vestals which, in Pliny's day, were thought to possess the power to bind to the spot runaway slaves, while the same words would have been labeled—and officially banned as—*spells* (*incitamenta*), if spoken in private.[509]

The considerable amount of uncertainty about right and wrong in religious terms manifests itself also in the assertion—frequently attested—that a speaker would do or say something only if it was right in religious terms (*fas*): accordingly, gods were invoked under different names provided that these were "right";[510] they were approached for a favour only as long as the latter was *fas*.[511] These precautions show how arbitrarily *fas* was felt to cut across very similar grounds. They also demonstrate how important it was to act within its limits. Ultimately, the yardstick by which *fas* and *nefas* were measured was, once again, 'Roman custom'.

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The ritual foci of Christianity were deliberately distinct and plain. Ritual distinctiveness can be seen first of all in its rejection or transformation of common pagan rituals. For instance, Christianity replaced sacrifices, processions, Games and other, often sumptuous cult practices with something as simple and affordable as private prayer, bread and wine. This is well illustrated by Pliny's description of the Bithynian Christians at the beginning of the second century A.D. These Christians confessed

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[507] Liv. 39.16.8f.
[508] Cf. Liebeschuetz 1979, 119–126 on astrology.
[509] Plin. *nat.* 28.13.
[510] Cf. Liv. 3.39.4; Macr. *sat.* 3.9.10 al.
[511] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.266; Ov. *Pont.* 2.8.37; Liv. 1.16.6; *Carm. epig.* 861.3 al.

that "the sum total of their guilt or error amounted to no more than this: they had met regularly before dawn on a fixed day to chant verses alternately among themselves in honor of Christ as if to a god…".[512] The Christian doctrine transformed the public sacrificial feast of the city into the sublime and private eucharist.

Another fundamental difference is historical referentiality of the Christian eucharist. It referred to Jesus' last supper and thus celebrated an event conceived of as historical by the Christians. This historical anchoring of ritual foci is alien to the corresponding pagan ritual foci. As Scheid has pointed out, a pagan sacrifice was in fact conceptualized as a banquet of members of Roman society (whether mortals or gods) without any historical reference.[513]

A similar historical referentiality is found in other sets of ritual foci introduced by Christianity, such as baptism and the Easter liturgy. The whole process of the establishment of these distinct ritual foci is largely shrouded in darkness, due to the exclusively private setting in which they developed.[514] But we have a longer passage in the first *Apology* of Justin which gives a rather detailed account of the ceremony of baptism and the Sunday liturgy, dating to the mid-second century. Whether or not the pieces of information offered are Rome-specific, it is clear from Justin that ritual foci were well established in the Christian world by then, and that must have included Rome.[515]

Besides this, there may have been certain rituals connected with the worship of martyrs, at least from the third century on. These included commemoration of the dead, a religious (often sumptuous) meal and other ceremonies (*refrigerium*).[516] It should be also noted that ritual simplicity was a major difference between Christianity and Judaism. While the gods of both cults were conceptualized in essentially very similar ways (no spatial or iconographic focalization; homogeneity of their functional foci anywhere in the ancient world), they differed markedly in the complexity of their ritual foci. Judaism looked back upon a millennium or more of a chequered history, in the course of which it had developed various ritual foci, for instance (and most notably) circumcision, food laws and various rituals performed on religious holidays

[512] Plin. *ep.* 10.96.7 with Sheldon-White 1966, 702–708.
[513] Scheid 2007, 270.
[514] Messner 2003.
[515] Just. *apol.* I, 65–67 with Hamman 1991.
[516] Holloway 2004, 84.

such as the Day of Atonement or Succoth. By contrast, Christianity began as a new cult, abandoning almost from the outset Jewish ritual foci (clearly in competition and self-demarcation from the latter) and replacing them, mostly with simple prayer, baptism and the common meal.[517] Its ritual simplicity made Christianity more marketable than its Jewish 'competitor' (and other divine concepts for that matter). It was easily learnable, and its knowledge could be spread from place to place by the most uneducated and least well-off. Besides, early Christian rituals were not the domain of a specific priestly group, but were based on the consensus of its lay performers.

But there was another, negative side, that Christianity was destined to witness due to its peculiar notion of rituals. Pagan polytheism could easily accommodate ritual differences as long as the latter moved inside the loosely defined borders of *fas*. In stark contrast to this pluralistic approach, Christian monotheism, calling upon one god and one truth, could not permit freedom of action, much less of ritual. The fierce controversies fought over issues such as the ritual importance of baptism, Easter and the veneration of icons bear witness to its intrinsic inability to compromise. The rigid ritual dogmatism of Christian monotheism soon led to scores of 'heresies', which took ritual foci of Christian 'orthodoxy' and developed these in 'illicit' directions, for the wheel of new conceptualizations was not brought to a standstill by the mere fact that the suspicious theologians had agreed upon an armistice—all such armistices were temporary. These 'heresies' could not be ousted by theological argument, but only by the sword of the worldly élite. In the end, Christianity turned out to be uniquely incapable of accommodating ritual differences within its own ranks. Its inability led to a fragmentation of the Christian world unthinkable in the age of heathendom.

[517] Cf. Dunn 2007, 55–66.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUALIZATION

1. *Adoption*

After analyzing divine concepts in their relation to six constituent concepts, I now turn to the actual act of conceptualization. In other words, I now shift my attention from *analysis* to *synthesis* of divine concepts. While the first part attempted to show what divine concepts were, this part will deal with the question how they were formed.

The formation of divine concepts was normally conducted in one of three different ways, which were on occasion combined. Either a divine concept was modelled on a foreign equivalent (adoption), or a previously profane concept became divine by the application of cult (deification), or a specific element became emancipated from a divine 'parent', thereby gaining separate divine status (differentiation). By contrast, an already existing divine concept could be dissolved (dissolution). In this chapter I will deal with conceptualization in the form of adoption.

New gods could be adopted in numerous different ways. Often, initial carriers of new cults were settlers or merchants, who—on their arrivial via Puteoli during the Republic, or via Ostia in the imperial period—brought new gods as part of their merchandise (e.g. Isis). Other carriers were inspired missionaries such as the Greek "dabbler in sacrifices and fortune-teller" (*sacrificulus et vates*), who introduced Bacchus to Etruria (from where it entered Rome).[1]

Gods adopted in this way began as private deities and were, as a rule, gradually integrated into the official pantheon. This category of imports includes, for instance, Castor and Pollux (whose temple was dedicated in 484 B.C.).[2] One can add Iuno Lucina, whose cult may or may not have been a foreign (Sabine?) import, but whose temple

[1] Liv. 39.8.3.

[2] Cf. the link between the Forum cult of Castor and Pollux and Greece established by Strab. 5.3.5 [232]. A sixth-century inscription from Lavinium, which mentions the twin-gods, makes it likely that the cult arrived in Lavinium—and as a result in Rome—directly from the Greek area, cf. *Lavinium II*, 441–443; Bertinetti 1994.

certainly started in Rome as a private foundation at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. and turned into a public cult at some stage in the third.[3] Isis, who arrived in Rome presumably in the second century B.C., struggled for more than two centuries before gaining general acceptance in the first century A.D. Sarapis, her divine consort, mentioned in Rome (as possessing a temple?) by Catullus,[4] had received his own festival, the *Sarapia*, by the first century A.D.[5] This may point to an acceptance of his cult and to an importance matching that of his popular female counterpart.[6] A case very similar to Sarapis is that of Attis. The latter appears to have been unofficially worshipped as consort of the officially recognized Magna Mater in the Palatine sanctuary of the goddess from at least the first century B.C., as is shown by a number of terracotta figurines found there.[7] However, the cult of Attis did not become emancipated until the first century A.D., when, starting perhaps with Claudius, a cycle of festivals dedicated to him was introduced.[8]

While personalized gods were regularly adopted into the official Roman pantheon, abstract divine notions from abroad only rarely received religious attention. The most notable examples of such gods in Rome hail from Greece and were feminine abstract nouns.[9] A clear instance is *Nemesis*, who despite her worship in the centre of Rome, i.e. on the Capitol, did not receive a Latin name (a fact so remarkable, because so rare, that Pliny points it out on *two* occasions).[10] In a similar vein, the Greek goddess Hygieia (as Hygia) was worshipped in Rome alongside Aesculapius, though one may doubt whether she was an official deity.[11] The Moerae were called upon during the Augustan

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Nevertheless, the cult of the twin-gods was also popular among the Etruscans, cf. Pfiffig 1975, 338–340; Strazzulla 1994.

[3] Varro *ling.* 5.74; G. Giannelli, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 122f.; Ziolkowski 1992, 67–71, 234.

[4] Catul. 10.25–27.

[5] Degrassi 1963, 449.

[6] It cannot be considered *a priori* a certainty that Sarapis was less important than Isis in Rome or more specifically the Iseum Campense, as is rightly pointed out by Versluys 2004, 448 with n. 96.

[7] Vermaseren 1977, 43, 114 with *CCCA* III, 11–36 [nos. 14–199].

[8] Vermaseren 1977, 113–124; Liebeschuetz 2000, 993.

[9] Cf. Feeney 1998, 90.

[10] Plin. *nat.* 11.251, 28.22; with Wissowa 1912, 377f. for more references (who for reasons obscure to me does not believe that the cult image on the Capitol implied religious worship).

[11] *CIL* VI 17–19; 10234.

Secular Games (though otherwise a cult of them is not attested).[12] The building of a temple to Mens ('Mind') was decreed after the first Roman defeats against Hannibal in 217 B.C.[13] The Greek concept of *sofrosúne* may have played a role here, as is suggested by the fact that the foundation of the cult of Mens was ordered by the (Greek) Sibylline books and by the popularity of the cult of the goddess in central and southern Italy (where Greek influence was particularly strong).[14] One may also consider Concordia ('Concord') a concept formed on the notion of Greek *homónoia*.[15] Clark is clearly wrong when she argues for a 'give and take' mentality on equal terms in the Hellenistic world, denying a movement of concepts "only towards Rome". Given the striking ignorance and indifference of the average Greek (which, of course, would not include cases such as Polybius) towards Roman culture, custom and most importantly, language, especially during the period in question (e.g. the Hellenistic period), there can be no doubt that the movement of concepts between Greece and Rome, wherever it existed, was one-sided.[16]

It often remains doubtful whether a divine concept was actually created using a Greek model as a precedent, or whether an old, independent deity, was eventually identified with a similiar divine Greek notion. Mens may be a case in point, for the equation with *sofrosúne* is not entirely satisfying: apart from the fact that the two terms do not entirely coincide (*sofrosúne* in Latin would rather be *prudentia*, while Mens in Greek would rather be *noûs*), the Greek goddess is not known to have been worshipped in Italy or Greece, nor was a temple built to her anywhere in the ancient world, as far as we know.[17] It is possible that Mens was felt to possess a divine dimension even before identification with (and as a consequence partial assimilation to) the concept of Greek *sofrosúne*. Another case, the abstract goddess Fortuna, had certainly developed into a fully fledged divine entity even before she entered the orbit of Greek Tyche. Her cult in Rome dates back at least to the sixth century, when the cult of Greek Tyche, if extant at all, was still in its infancy; this is quite apart from her rather different

[12] *CIL* VI 32323.90–100. See also chapter III.1.
[13] Liv. 22.9.10; 22.10.10; 23.31.9, cf. Ov. *fast.* 6.241–248; Clark 2007, 66f.
[14] Wissowa 1912, 313–315; Clark 2007, 201–204.
[15] Bailey 1932, 136.
[16] *Pace* Clark 2007, 31f.
[17] For the cult of *sophrosúne* in the east (Asia, Syria) see G. Türk, in: *RE* 3A.1 (1927), col. 1107.

functions (fertility, sovereignty and human destiny in the case of the Roman goddess, chance in the case of the Greek deity) and, as far as we can judge, different iconographic foci (e.g., the Roman goddess seated, the Greek goddess standing).[18]

In a few cases, it was not the pre-existence of private cults, but the ruling of Roman officialdom that led to the adoption of a new deity. In these cases, the officials sought to 'conceptualize' the foreign deity in Rome by cultic foci in the six constituent conceptual categories. This could be done in a rather superficial manner so as to preserve the essential foreign character of the adopted gods. A case in point is the transfer of Magna Mater from Asia Minor, following a senatorial decree in 204 B.C.

The temple of Magna Mater was officially dedicated in the religious centre of Rome in 191 B.C. Later, no less a figure than Augustus felt proud of having restored it.[19] Beyond that, the goddess retained various and strikingly un-Roman elements of her cult and thus remained foreign to Roman taste, at least until the Augustan period (by which time her cult was increasingly Romanized though). For instance, during the Republic her high priest and priestess in Rome were Phrygians. The attire worn during religious processions and their musical instruments were markedly un-Roman.[20] Similarly, the general cult terminology and the actual cultic hymns as well as the name of the festival dedicated to the goddess were Greek.[21] A natural consequence of this was that the participation of Roman citizens in her cult was restricted to the organization of the *Megalensia* and the performance of the annual sacrifice by the praetor, as well as to the membership of private associations (*sodalitates*) to honour the goddess by holding sumptuous banquets (which were reserved for the patricians).[22] Otherwise, any participation of Roman citizens was strictly forbidden, at least in the Republic (later, these sanctions were relaxed).[23] In fact, the lack of

[18] Champeaux 1982, 454–461.

[19] Aug. *res gestae* 19; Ov. *fast.* 4.347f.

[20] Varro *sat.* 131, 149f. [Astbury]; Lucr. 2.618–623; Catul. 63.8–11; DH *antiqu.* 2.19.4f. with Vermaseren 1977, 97.

[21] For cult terminology see for example *OLD* s.vv. *cannophorus, dendrophorus, mesonyctium, taurobolium*; for Greek hymns (in explicit contrast to hymns to Bacchus) cf. Serv. *georg.* 2.394; for the Greek name *Megalesia* cf. Cic. *harusp.* 24 and *Fast. Praen.*, Degrassi 1963, 127 [on April 4].

[22] Cic. *Cat. maior* 45; Gell. 18.2.11.

[23] Dion. Hal. 2.19.4f.; Val. Max. 7.7.6; Iul. Obsequ. 44.

Romanization of Magna Mater often earned mockery and contempt by Republican writers.[24]

The way in which cults were introduced by public authorities will now be illustrated by two cases from very different periods, namely the introduction of Magna Mater at the beginning of the second century B.C. and the short-lived introduction of the god Elagabal at the beginning of the third century A.D. As will become apparent, despite very different historical circumstances the basic pattern remains identical.

1. Space: To begin with Magna Mater, in 204 B.C. the senate passed a decree which provided for the transfer of the baetyl of Magna Mater from Pessinus in Asia Minor to Rome. The senatorial decree determined the erection of a temple for the goddess,[25] which was formally dedicated on April 11 in 191 B.C.[26] The temple was situated at a prominent spot on the south-western slope of the Palatine. Later (suggestions waver between the first and second century A.D.), Cybele (= Magna Mater) received a second major sanctuary (*Phrygianum*) on the other side of the Tiber near the site of St Peter, i.e. outside the city walls.[27]

In a very similar vein, Elagabal received two temples early in the third century A.D. One was situated outside, the other inside the city walls. The extra-mural temple was situated in the suburbs at the eastern flank of the Caelian hill, the intra-mural temple next to the ruler's residence on the Palatine, where the cult icon, a baetyl, was stored.[28] The spatial juxtaposition of the imperial palace and the sanctuary of the god may be compared to that of Augustus' private residence next to the temple of the Palatine Apollo. The location of the temple of Sol Invictus Elagabal was further marked by a large number of altars built around it.[29]

2. Time: With regard to temporal foci of the two cults, Magna Mater was transferred from Asia Minor to Rome in 204 B.C., where she was temporarily housed in the sanctuary of Victoria, before she received a temple of her own.[30] Both the date of her arrival in Rome

[24] Naev. *com.* 20–24 [R.^{3}]; Plaut. *Poen.* 1317f., *Truc.* 602, 610f. al.
[25] Liv. 36.36.4: *aedem faciendam ex senatus consulto.*
[26] Bernstein 1998, 201.
[27] Vermaseren 1977, 45–51.
[28] F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 10f.; Curran 2000, 11f.
[29] Herod. 5.5.8.
[30] Liv. 29.10.4–29.11.8; 29.14.5–14; 29.37.2; 36.36.2–4. For Valerius Antias as the source cf. Schmidt 1909, 12f. For Mount Ida, not Pessinus, as the place from which the baetyl was brought to Rome cf. Gruen 1990, 15–19; Berneder 2004, 62–67.

(April 4) and of the dedication of her temple (April 11, 191 B.C.) were meticulously recorded in the calendary tradition.[31] Similarly, on the occasion of the introduction of the cult in 204 B.C., public Games are mentioned under the name *Megalensia*.[32] It seems more probable than not that these formed an integral part of the foundation decree of the cult, since they appear also as scenic Games in 194 B.C.[33] It is clear that in 191, when the temple was dedicated, these Games lasted two days at least (April 4–5).[34] Subsequently, the Games were held on an annual basis. Under the Empire, the Games lasted 7 days (April 4–10).[35] In marked contrast to our relatively rich documentation of temporal foci of Magna Mater, we are less informed about Elagabal. It is clear, though, that a festival celebrated in high summer was dedicated to the god, a date chosen, no doubt, due to the god's nature, since he was a representation of the sun-god.[36]

3. Personnel: As regards the personnel foci of Republican Magna Mater, her actual cult was conducted by both a male and female Phrygian priest (no doubt, authorized by senatorial decree), while the participation of Roman officials was restricted to the performance of sacrifices and the organization of Games. The exotic appearance and apparatus of these priests were an important reason for the partial stigmatization of the cult throughout the Republic.[37] Besides this, (emasculated?) followers of the goddess (*galli*) and their superiors (*archigalli*) are attested in Rome. Imperial inscriptions make it likely that *archigallus* was some sort of a priestly office by that time.[38] Apart from that, we find other priests (*sacerdotes*) of both sexes in the imperial period with their respective superiors (*sacerdotes maximi*, identical with the *archigalli*?).[39] Most of these were Roman citizens; accordingly, it seems that the restrictions placed on the participation in the cult were lifted during the imperial period, though emasculation was still explicitly penalized by Hadrian.[40] If we turn to Elagabal again, the most visible personnel focus of the

[31] Bernstein 1998, 201.
[32] Liv. 29.14.14.
[33] Liv. 34.54.3.
[34] Bernstein 1998, 201.
[35] Degrassi 1963, 435.
[36] Herod. 5.6.6.
[37] Dion. Hal. 2.19.4f.
[38] *CIL* VI 2183, 32466.
[39] *CIL* VI 496, 502, 508, 2257–2261.
[40] *Dig.* 48.8.4.2.

cult was the emperor himself.[41] He had become high priest of the god in Emesa when still a boy. After his arrival in Rome in 219 A.D., he did not immediately advertise his priesthood, for reasons of tact. It is only from the end of 220 A.D. that his priestly title appears on coins and inscriptions (on inscriptions *sacerdos amplissimus dei invicti Solis Elagabali*, on coins with variations).[42] Tellingly, when other priesthoods such as that of the *pontifex maximus* were mentioned in his titulature, they *followed* that of the new god.[43]

4. Function: The standard requisite of Magna Mater already in Republican iconography was a turreted crown, interpreted by Lucretius as indicating the protection of cities.[44] Such tutelary functions match the historical circumstances under which the goddess was adopted, i.e. the final and decisive phase of the Second Punic War.[45] However, this conflict was virtually the last for the next six hundred years to come in which protection of the capital was needed. In compensation, a hypothetical Tojan link of the goddess came to the fore. Initially, the latter may well have been circumstantial, but with the ascent of the Iulii (i.e. alleged offspring of Aeneas) to world power under Caesar it was no doubt exploited for propagandistic reasons.[46]

Although originally a form of the sun-god, the worship of Elagabal in Rome was marked by a virtual absence of specific functional foci. The god was redesigned by the emperor, as it were, in order to embrace and eventually subdue Roman polytheism in its entirety.[47] This explains why the young emperor removed from their ancestral sanctuaries all symbols of traditional Roman polytheism, such as the stone of Magna Mater, the fire of Vesta, the Palladium of Minerva,

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[41] Stepper 2003, 179–184.

[42] Halsberghe 1972, 76–78; Frey 1989, 80–86.

[43] E.g. *CIL* VI 37183; Halsberghe 1972, 77; Halsberghe 1984, 2186.

[44] Lucr. 2.606–609; for the iconography of the goddess see below. For Cybele (= Magna Mater) as an old tutelary deity of cities see also E. Simon, in: *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997), 745.

[45] Berneder 2004, 38–44.

[46] For the connection with Aeneas see Berneder 2004, 64–67 [who however thinks that this aspect was important from the beginning as part of Scipio's political strategy]. For the introduction of Dea Caelestis see Curran 2000, 13.

[47] SHA *Elag.* 6.7: *nec Romanas tantum exstinguere voluit religiones, sed per orbem terrae, unum studens, ut Heliogabalus deus ubique coleretur*; with Halsberghe 1972, 104; for the term *henotheism* in this context see Frey 1989, 65–67.

the *ancilia* of Mars and "all that the Romans held sacred", and placed them in his new temple.[48]

5. Iconography: The iconography of Magna Mater was exceptional in Roman terms, but remarkedly similar to that of Elagabal. The baetyl which represented the goddess had been brought from Asia: an unhewn black stone of hand-size. Apparently, in Arnobius' day it was displayed in the temple on the neck of an otherwise anthropomorphic statue (*oris loco*).[49] In Augustan literary and visual art, as well as later, the baetyl is replaced completely by the attributes of the goddess, most notably the turreted crown and lions, with or without the actual female figure representing the goddess.[50] Like Magna Mater, Elagabal too was worshipped in the shape of a baetyl, i.e. in aniconic form. As in the former case, this posed a problem of recognizibility. The problem was again solved by an iconographic marker, in this case an eagle. The eagle had already accompanied the baetyl of the god in representations from ancient times, as the earliest extant Syrian evidence testifies.[51] After the introduction of the cult in Rome, the eagle remained a standard requisite of the Syrian god: it appeared on a figurative pilaster capital from Rome, which may have belonged to the Palatine temple, and also on Roman coins from the period in question.[52] In most cases, the eagle was represented in frontal view, with its wings half opened and a wreath in its beak. The depiction resembled the Jovian bird, with the exception of the baetyl, which was normally depicted (at least on Roman representations) behind it. Such an association of the god with Iuppiter was deliberate, since the Syrian god claimed the succession of Iuppiter.

6. Ritual: Three rituals of Magna Mater in Rome stand out. Annually, the followers of the goddess would rally to form a procession in the city, carrying her cult image to the sound of tambourines and flutes, while at the same time begging for alms.[53] Interestingly, Ovid mentions a peculiar ritual bath of the cult statue of the goddess in the Almo, a tributary of the Tiber, in the southern vicinity of Rome in

[48] SHA *Elag.* 3.4; 6.6–7.1.
[49] Arn. *adv. nat.* 7.49.
[50] Martin 1988, 257f.; E. Simon, in: *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997), 748.
[51] See the limestone stele from Nazala in Syria, dating from the first century A.D. (C. Augé/P. Linant de Bellefonds, in: *LIMC* III.1 (1986), 705 [no. 1]).
[52] C. Augé/P. Linant de Bellefonds, in: *LIMC* III.1 (1986), 706f. [nos. 5; 11a, b].
[53] Dion. Hal. *ant.* 2.19.4.

connection with the first day of the *Megalensia* (4 April).[54] This ritual may be attested in 38 B.C., but this time, if in fact it is meant, it is an exceptional ceremony performed on the orders of the Sibylline books.[55] Later on, perhaps after reforms in the time of Claudius, the washing took place on March 27, and appears thus dissociated from the Games of Magna Mater, but as part of the festive cycle of her consort Attis.[56] The third ritual, better known, is the sacrifice of a bull (*taurobolium*) or ram (*criobolium*). During the ritual the high priest descended into a pit and was drenched with the blood of the sacred animal which was slain above him.[57] These ritual foci of the goddess may be compared to the two rituals of Elagabal described at length by Herodian: firstly, the sacrifice of a hecatomb of cattle and sheep performed daily at dawn, and secondly, the annual midsummer festival, on which occasion the baetyl of the sun-god was carried in a procession through the city to the suburban temple. Simultaneously, chariot races, theatrical performances, and other spectacles were staged.[58]

To conclude, despite the long period between the transfer of the cult of Magna Mater and that of Elagabal, in both cases the authorities endeavored to conceptualize the incoming god in exactly the same way. The newcomer had to be conceptualized through all six constituent concepts of space, time, personnel, function, iconography and ritual. Though some scholars find this hardly surprising, it discloses a somewhat neglected side of conceptual analysis, viz. the fact that the principles underlying it were in fact timeless parameters, called into service by the respective authorities on different historical occasions in very similar ways. It was not the concept of divinity that changed over time, but the power constellations surrounding and employing it: both the Republican senate and its dubious late-born Syrian surrogate four centuries later realized that there was only one way to conceptualize a foreign god successfully in Rome, i.e. simultaneous conceptualization through all six constituent concepts alike.

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[54] Ov. *fast.* 4.337–340.
[55] Dio 48.43.5.
[56] Vermaseren 1977, 113–124.
[57] Vermaseren 1977, 101–107.
[58] Herod. 5.5.8–10, 5.6.6–10 with Halsberghe 1972, 86–88; Pietrzykowski 1986, 1821; Frey 1989, 47–49. For the imperial festivals of Elagabal see Herz 1978, 1185f.

A specific form of cult transference is the summoning of a deity from besieged cities (*evocatio*)[59] such as that of Iuno Regina from Veii on the destruction of the city by Camillus in 396 B.C. (forming a new triad with adjacent Aventine temples of Iuppiter Libertas and Minerva?),[60] as well as the possible transference of Iuno from Carthage,[61] Vertumnus from Volsinii,[62] and Minerva from Falerii Veteres.[63] In these specific cases (with the exception perhaps of the Carthaginian Iuno), the deity called forth was granted a new temple in Rome. It was thus fully adopted into the official Roman pantheon.[64]

According to Verrius Flaccus, an *evocatio* was normal practice in the cases where a city was besieged by a Roman army.[65] However, the Augustan scholar does not mention that all such gods were necessarily summoned to the city of Rome itself. Indeed, passages in Festus show that while some rituals were transferred to Rome in the course of the *evocatio* and conducted as 'foreign rites' (*sacra peregrina*),[66] others continued to be performed where they had always been, monitored from now on by Roman pontiffs (*sacra municipalia*).[67] Besides this, an inscription from Isaura Vetus in Cilicia, dating from *ca.* 75 B.C., suggests that the tutelary deity of the hostile city was simply relocated to a specific area outside the beleaguered town. After the latter's capture, a temple was erected in the predefined extra-urban area as a new dwelling of the 'evicted' deity.[68] In the case of the tutelary deities of more important cities, for example Veii and Carthage, the place of repatriation of the deity may have been Rome for propagandistic reasons. On general

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[59] For a general discussion of the *evocatio* see Gustafsson 2000.

[60] Liv. 5.21.1–7, 5.22.3–7, 5.23.7, 5.31.3, reluctantly Gustafsson 2000, 46–55. For the possible new triad see Aug. *res gestae* 19.

[61] Serv. *Aen.* 12.841; cf. Macr. *sat.* 3.9.5–9 with Gustafsson 2000, 59f.

[62] Prop. 4.2.1–4.

[63] Ov. *fast.* 3.843 with Gustafsson 2000, 56–59.

[64] Macr. *sat.* 3.9.9, where 'temples and Games' are promised to the tutelary deity of Carthage in the evocation formula. For the Roman temples of Iuno Regina see M. Andreussi, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 125f.; for sacrifices to her see Scheid no. 6 line 5 al. [see index ibid.]; for the temple of Vertumnus see J. Aronen, in: *LTUR* V (1999), 213f.; for the temple of Minerva Capta F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 255. Other hypothetical cases of temple foundations in Rome after *evocatio* are the cult of Iuppiter Africus (Coarelli 1982, 49) and temples of Iuno Curitis (cf. D. Manacorda, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 121f.) and of Feronia (F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 247f.).

[65] Verrius Flaccus ap. Plin. *nat.* 28.18; cf. Arn. *adv. nat.* 3.38; Serv. *Aen.* 2.351, cf. Gustafsson 2000, 42–45.

[66] Fest. 268.27–33 [L].

[67] Fest. 146.9–12 [L] with Cazanove 2000, 73f.

[68] *AnnEpigr* 1977, 237f. [no. 816] with Gustafsson 2000, 60–62.

grounds, however, it is clearly impossible that all tutelary deities of the countless cities conquered by Rome, in the course of her history, were transferred to the capital itself.

2. *Deification*

Virtually any physical or abstract entity could be deified, i.e. receive worship of some kind.[69] Deification implied that the object of deification had no previous cult. Therefore, any deified object had a potentially profane side to it. The degree of potential profanity depended on the nature of the deified object: impersonal notions (e.g. *venti/pietas*) never lost it, as long as they were used as mere appellatives (without a divine connotation), while divinized persons might appear with increased divinity after their death (their human characteristics fading in the memory of their worshippers). On the other hand, an impersonal notion, once established as divine, was not as transitory as were divinized individuals. Unlike the latter, it normally possessed a well-defined functional focus. At any rate, all deifications in Rome were in fact partial, with a (new) divine aspect added to a (hitherto) profane notion, rather than replacing it. In analyzing the process of deification, impersonal notions have to be distinguished from individual beings. Both categories are dealt with separately.

To begin with the former, the first step in deifying a hitherto profane impersonal notion was the establishment of a functional focus, as a rule evident from the very name of the notion chosen to be deified. Thus, a Plautan character paid tribute to Neptune and the 'salty waves' after his safe return from a sea voyage.[70] Clearly, the 'salty waves' in this context must have been perceived as (partly) divine, since they are addressed in a prayer alongside Neptune. Their functional focus was naturally felt to be exactly what 'salty waves' meant to be, i.e. 'the sea'.[71] In the same vein, the 'functional' gods derived their functional foci from the (supposed/reconstructed) etymologies of their names (e.g. Sterculus = 'god of manuring', cf. *stercus, -oris* = 'manure'). Their *ad hoc* character was discernible not only by their often transparent etymologies, but also by the frequent variants of their names: thus we find the god of

[69] Feeney 1998, 87–92.
[70] Plaut. *Trin.* 820–823.
[71] Cf. Clark 2007, 85–109 for divine qualities in Plautus.

'manuring' as *Sterculus* alongside *Sterculius*, *Stercutus*, *Stercutius* and *Sterculinius*, the goddess 'furnishing food' as *Edulia* next to *Edula* and *Edusa* etc.[72] It is unlikely that in all these cases a flawed manuscript tradition is to blame. More probably, the names had never been fully standardized, and alternative forms continued to circulate. A further step in the same direction can be assumed, when 'functional gods' were combined by virtue of functional complementarity. Thus we find Anna Perenna ["goddess of the year operating throughout the year"], Patulcius Clusius ["the god who opens and closes"], Prorsa Postverta ["the goddess that operates from the front and back"] and others.[73] It goes without saying that such *ad hoc* creations rarely survived for long (though Anna Perenna, for example, endured).

The second step in the process of deification was the establishment of spatial foci. The simplest form was an altar or small sacred precinct. For instance, Aius Locutius (Cicero: Aius Loquens), the deified voice (Lat. *aio, loqui*) which according to lore warned the Romans of the approach of the Gauls in 391 B.C., though manifest only on this occasion, received an altar on the Palatine.[74] Futhermore, Rediculus, god of 'return' (Lat. *redire*), had a small sanctuary on the second milestone of the Via Appia, where Hannibal was said to have abandoned his march on the city in 211 B.C.[75] Resulting as they did from single historical events, these sanctuaries resembled war memorials rather than spatial foci of a specific deity.

In the most permanent form, impersonal notions received a full-scale temple. Thus, 'Fever' (*Febris*) had a time-honoured temple on the Palatine;[76] 'Concord' (*Concordia*) received a temple in 304 B.C.,[77] the 'Storms' (*Tempestates*) in 259 B.C.,[78] and 'Piety' (*Pietas*) in 181 A.D.[79] The establishment of a spatial focus in the form of a temple implied

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[72] Furthermore, we find deified 'Fear' as *Paventia* alongside *Paventina*, the goddess of 'standing crop' as *Segesta* alongside *Segetia*, the goddess of 'sowing' as *Sesia* alongside *Seia*, the goddess of 'good Choosing' as *Volamina* alongside *Volumna*, see Radke 1965 s.vv.

[73] Scheid 2003, 184.

[74] Varro *antiqu.* fr. 107 [Cardauns] [*ara*]; Cic. *de div.* 1.101, 2.69 [*ara saepta*]; Liv. 5.32.6–9 [*sacellum*]; 5.50.5 [*templum*]; 5.52.11 [*templum*]; Radke 1965, 16f., 26, 28, 59f.; J. Aronen, in: *LTUR* I (1993), 29.

[75] Fest. 354.25–28 [L]; Paul. Fest. 355.7–9 [L]; Plin. *nat.* 10.122 with Varro *sat.* fr. 213 [Astbury] with Radke 1965, 271, 302f.

[76] F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 244.

[77] Curti 2000, 80–83; Clark 2007, 54–56.

[78] A. Ziolkowski, in: *LTUR* V (1999), 26f.

[79] P. Ciancio Rossetto, in: *LTUR* IV (1999) 86; Clark 2007, 69–71.

the establishment of foci in other categories, for instance temporal foci to commemorate the anniversary of the temple, personnel foci (from lay administrators to full-time priests), iconographic foci in the form of cult images, and ritual foci in the shape of regular sacrifices offered on the anniversary of the temple.

As a rule, official deification (in marked contrast to private deification) was not an evolutionary process, but a one-time decision manifesting itself in a senatorial decree. Most of all, the decree was concerned with the establishment of a spatial focus, which was normally a temple or a shrine. Prior to such official recognition, there had normally been a long period of 'silent' divinization. This phase may have lasted many centuries. Evidence for such initial stages is almost non-existent. This is due to the fact that most divinized impersonal notions were drawn to the attention of ancient writers only when a temple was dedicated to them and they thus began to appear in official written records (most notably the official calendar, where the dedication dates of the official temples were marked). No doubt, in many cases the temple foundation itself was the climax of a long and tortuous development, during which the divine character of the impersonal notion was increasingly, but unofficially, shaped in the common mind.

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The deification of historical persons has to be distinguished from that of impersonal notions. A vague supernatural nimbus, which might temporarily lead to divine worship, had always surrounded the most powerful in the state. Indeed, important historical figures of the Republic were credited with such divine or semi-divine powers. These include Camillus, Manlius Capitolinus, Decius, Scipio, the Gracchi, and Marius.[80] *Ad hoc* deifications referred to in the writings of Plautus point to the same fact, proving what one would have guessed anyway, that in a comical context a mere mortal could be addressed as a god or even claim divine worship.[81] One may also grant that in the case of early historical figures there is no indication whatsoever that the sources, though belonging to a later age, do not reflect the beliefs of

[80] For references see Taeger II, 34–49; Weinstock 1971, 287–296; Fishwick I.1, 46–55; Clauss 1999, 41–46.

[81] Weinstock 1971, 292 gives references.

the period they pretend to describe.[82] Nevertheless, the assimilation of humans to the divine status did not in any way lead to a lasting or premeditated augmentation of the official Roman pantheon, nor indeed to anything remotely comparable to it. For these were no permanent cults of divine concepts, but ephemeral and inconsequential outbursts of public approval; at most, one might say, admiration in a semi-cultic form.

Official deification in Rome can be dated accurately to the period immediately following Caesar's assassination and culminating in the formal consecration of the deceased dictator by the senate in January 42 B.C. The circumstances leading up to this climax have been adequately analyzed by Weinstock and others and need no further exposition here.[83] Whatever stance is taken regarding the exact sequence of events, it is clear that ultimately, the deified ruler secured a well defined position as a divine concept.

Despite the more or less stereotyped procedure of posthumous divinization of the emperor during the imperial period, there seem to have been palpable differences between individual Divi in terms of actual worship. True, on the official plain the divinized emperor was treated exactly like a traditional god, despite certain inconsistencies in practical legal matters (e.g. perjury by the divinized, heritability).[84] However, in terms of sentiments and acceptance of divine status, the merits of the emperor towards the senatorial élite and the populace played a decisive role.[85] Thus, the deification of Augustus was widely expected in Rome even during his lifetime,[86] while that of Claudius was caustically satirized.[87] Surprisingly, the deification of such a generally well-received figure as Hadrian had to be forced upon the senate by his successor.[88] One has to conclude that, behind the official equality of divine status, there lingered an unwritten hierarchy of popular sympathy towards

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[82] Cf. the criticism by Polybius, blaming previous historians (he can only mean the older annalists) for considering Scipio the Elder "a man favoured by fortune, who owed his success generally to the unexpected and to mere chance. Such men were, in their opinion, *more divine* and *more worthy of admiration* than those who always act by calculation." (Polyb. 10.2.6).

[83] Weinstock 1971, 287–384, cf. Fishwick I.1, 56–72; Price 1987, 71–73; Clauss 1999, 46–53.

[84] Price 1987, 89f.

[85] Price 1987, 87–91; Gradel 2002, 345–349.

[86] Cf. e.g. Hor. *carm.* 3.5.1–3; Verg. *Georg.* 1.24–42, Ov. *ars am.* 1.203f.

[87] Cf. Seneca's *Apocolocynthosis* with Gradel 2002, 325–330.

[88] Dio 69.23.3; 70.1.2f.

the divinized, which differed widely according to the social status and personal experience of the worshipper and according to the virtuous character of the deified monarch. Needless to say, literature was always more generous in granting divine status to emperors, even while they were still alive.[89]

Most, but not all emperors were divinized after their death,[90] and not all of those divinized were honoured in the same way.[91] While close relatives of the emperor could also be consecrated posthumously, some emperors such as Caligula, Nero, Domitian and Commodus, were denied such honours (*damnatio memoriae*).[92] Nor were all emperors convinced of their own future divinization; and even if they were, not all were in a position to convincingly offer themselves as claimants to divinity, especially after dynastic change.[93] It follows that despite formal recognition of *a* divine status, i.e. of the various conceptual foci of imperial divinity, there was no archetype of *the* 'divine' emperor.

The emperor was not officially worshipped in Rome during his lifetime, although some emperors, viz. Caligula and Domitian, indulged in being addressed as a god on earth, and no doubt flattered themselves by thinking that they were indeed gods.[94] The acts of the arvals make it clear that the living emperor was officially considered merely as guarantor for the well-being of the state, and nothing more.[95] No emperor previous to Aurelian at the end of the third century A.D. appears to have been *officially* labelled 'god' in Rome during his lifetime.[96] While official terminology and divine attributes were ultimately dictated by imperial taste (*modestia*), the functional position of the living ruler in the Roman pantheon was not. As guarantor for the well-being of the Roman Empire he was in competition with no one less than Iuppiter

[89] Feeney 1998, 108–114.

[90] For a list of those emperors and their relatives with the title 'divus' see Clauss 1999, 533–535. For the evidence for worship while the emperor was still alive, ibid. 503–519.

[91] E.g. only a minority of the Divi received their own temple in Rome, cf. Price 1987, 77f.

[92] Price 1987, 87; Clauss 1999, 382–386.

[93] Vespasian, for example, an upstart without a family background, could ridicule his impending divinization, Suet. *Vesp.* 23.4.

[94] E.g. Suet. *Cal.* 22.2; cf. Dio 59.26.5; 59.26.8 al. Domitian was addressed as "lord and god" (*dominus et deus*), cf. Mart. 5.8.1; 7.34.8f.; 8.2.6, 9.66.3; 10.72.3; Cass. Dio 67.13.3f., cf. also Stat. *silv.* praef. 2 and 3 [*sacratissime imperator*].

[95] Scheid 1990, 356f., 426.

[96] Halsberghe 1972, 152; Halsberghe 1984, 2199f.

himself.[97] Not even a critical mind such as that of Vespasian could afford to ignore this functional aspect of the Roman ruler cult.[98]

Only members of the imperial family were officially deified in the city of Rome. A very rare exception may be Antinous, Hadrian's young Bithynian lover, who drowned in the Nile in 130 A.D. After his death the youth received divine honours in many parts of the Roman (mostly eastern) Empire.[99] In an inscription from Lanuvium dating from 136 A.D. he is clearly portrayed as an official god, since his cult is marked by spatial (temple), temporal (celebration of his birthday), and personnel foci (incidentally, he had no priest, but an official named *quinquennalis* who was in charge of his cult).[100] But this case is exceptional in the West and, after all, is found *outside* Rome. Despite private devotion to Hadrian's lover, even in Rome,[101] an official cult is not attested and was presumably cautiously banned from the capital by the emperor himself.[102]

3. *Differentiation*

The more important a Roman god, the more likely his various functions were to become emancipated and to be worshipped as separate divine concepts. I shall refer to such derived and emancipated divine concepts as hypostases. In Rome, the process of hypostatization can be neatly demonstrated in the case of Iuppiter. His functions were differentiated according to various concepts, such as 'space' as in the case of Iuppiter Viminus (located on and protecting the Viminal hill), 'action' as in the case of Iuppiter Fulgur (Iuppiter as the god of lightning), or general 'qualities' as in the case of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. These hypostases are, of course, not mutually exclusive and may occur with various, partly self-contradictory or inconsistent ramifications.[103] They

[97] For the competition of the two deities see chapter I.4.
[98] Fishwick I.2, 295–300.
[99] Meyer 1991, 189–211, 245–249.
[100] *ILS* 7212 with Meyer 1991, 207f.
[101] *SIRIS* no. 383 = Malaise 1972, 134 [no. 75]; Meyer 1991, 169f. [I E 13]; for sculptural works from Rome depicting Antinous cf. ibid. 47 [I 24], 52f. [I 31], 73f. [I 52], 95f. [I 74].
[102] Cf. Price 1987, 87. *Pace* older literature, Antinous had no cenotaph in Rome, see Meyer 1991, 252.
[103] Aug. *civ.* 7.11 points to the apparent inconclusiveness and even self-contradictory nature of many hypostases.

are in evidence also for the hypostases of other major gods (e.g. Venus Erycina ['local'], Iuno Regina ['functional]'), but naturally, hypostatization was limited to deities of a more general nature. By contrast, gods with more specific competences, even if they were popular and central figures of the Roman pantheon, had no official hypostases. Thus no hypostases of Robigus, Pales, Quirinus, Neptune, not to mention Aesculapius and Ceres, are attested in the official cult. Admittedly, it may often be impossible for us to determine whether a god was simply characterized informally by an attribute, or whether the attribute and divine name actually formed a cult title (therefore denoting a divine hypostasis)—and in the private sphere this difference would have been blurred anyway. It is a qualified guess, however, that in official circles, at least, such a difference did exist (Iuppiter Optimus Maximus was hardly just Iuppiter with two attributes defining his quality as the highest god) and that the *indigitamenta* or other priestly traditions served here, as elsewhere, to draw a line between what was officially admissible and what was not. So we can conclude that various forms of hypostases existed. The degree of their independence of the hyperstasis can be analyzed by determining their relation to the six constituent concepts of a Roman 'god'.

Space: A separate temple was the characteristic *par excellence* of an independent hypostasis, and it was natural to erect temples of hypostases in the vicinity of those of their hyperstases: for instance, in the Republican period we find on the Capitol, in addition to the cult of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, the cults of Iuppiter Africus, Iuppiter Feretrius, Iuppiter Pistor, Iuppiter Soter (?), Fides (see below) and Vediovis (see below). During the Augustan period, the temple of Iuppiter Tonans was added, followed in the Claudian era by an altar to Iuppiter Depulsor, and under Domitian by a temple to Iuppiter Custos (Conservator).[104] Despite the fact that already in the Republican period, important cults of Iuppiter can be located outside the Capitol (e.g. of Iuppiter Stator at the Circus Flaminius, Iuppiter Invictus on the Palatine, Iuppiter Elicius on the Aventine, Iuppiter Fulgur on the Campus Martius),[105] the cluster of spatial foci of cults of Jovian hypostases on the Capitol is unlikely to be mere coincidence. In the same vein, we find three spatial foci of cults of distinct hypostases of Fortuna in close vicinity to each other:

[104] Cf. *LTUR* s.vv.
[105] Cf. *LTUR* s.vv.

Fortuna Primigenia, Fortuna Publica Populi Romani Quiritium (both sharing the same temple anniversary, March 25), and Fortuna Publica Citerior in Colle (anniversary, April 5).[106] The entire region was called *ad tres Fortunas* after them.[107] Clusters of spatial foci of hypostases, in fact, reinforced the spatial focus of the corresponding hyperstasis.

Time: With regard to temporal foci, the important parameters were the temple anniversaries and the festivals that were characteristic of specific hypostases. For instance, the anniversaries of some temples coincided with days sacred to corresponding hyperstases, thus indicating a close connection: Iuno Regina, Iuno Lucina, Iuno Moneta and Iuno Sospes all had their temples dedicated on the *Kalendae* of a month (days sacred to Iuno). The anniversaries of temples of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, Iuppiter Victor, Iuppiter Invictus, and perhaps Iuppiter Stator, all fell on the Ides (days sacred to Iuppiter). Exceptionally, Iuno Curritis had her anniversary on the *Nonae*; and the anniversaries of the temples of Iuppiter Liber, Iuppiter Tonans, and Iuppiter Fulgur fell neither on the Ides nor on any other day sacred to Iuppiter.[108] If we turn to festivals, one may point to the *Larentalia* on December 23, which may have been dedicated to Vediovis (among other deities?).[109] More important is the case of Iuppiter Feretrius, who not only had his own temple on the southern peak of the Capitoline, but also his own Games, the *Ludi Capitolini* on October 15. However, Iuppiter Feretrius may owe his existence to a merger of Iuppiter with another independent deity rather than to a hypostatization of Iuppiter.[110]

Personnel: Iuppiter Feretrius had his own priesthood, the Fetiales. One may refer also to Fides. The deity was presumably a Jovian derivate and was consequently looked after by the *flamen Dialis* (see below). When the very nature of the hypostasis prevented its cult from being administered by a priest in charge of the hyperstasis (as in the case of Vediovis, who was connected with the underworld), presumably the pontiffs used to stand in. Apart from practical considerations, avoidance of the creation of new priesthoods in these cases may have been politically motivated. It is plausible to assume that the priests who promoted the differentiation of their deity in order to increase their own religious power and

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[106] F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 285–287.
[107] Vitr. 3.2.2.
[108] See chapter I.4.
[109] See below in this chapter.
[110] Degrassi 1963, 522.

prestige, were naturally the least likely to part with the accrued ritual obligations and privileges this differentiation brought them.

Function: More often than not, the early stages leading to differentiation were marked by fragmentation and/or separation of specific functional foci and their formation into new conceptual units. Thus *Fides* sprang out of 'trust' which formed the basis of 'oaths', an age-old functional focus of Iuppiter. 'Libertas', the central idea of the Republic and as such guaranteed by Iuppiter, herself became an independent goddess.

Iconography: Iconographic foci could become emancipated from the hyperstasis too, for example the appearance of Vediovis as a young man accompanied by a goat (see below). This was markedly different from representations of Iuppiter, because of Vediovis' function which was diametrically opposed to Iuppiter's. After all, Vediovis was a god of the underworld (see below), Iuppiter a god of the upper world. One may refer also to the female Fides (whose late-Republican cult statue is partly preserved)[111] as a likely hypostasis of the male Iuppiter, or to the appearance of Iuppiter Feretrius as a flint-stone (*silex*).

Ritual: Separate ritual foci could determine the independence of the hypostases. This is evident in the two separate vows to Mars Pater and Mars Victor, performed by the same priests within the same ceremony and on the same occasion: the arval brethren used to pledge to each deity a bull with gilded horns upon Trajan's safe return from the battlefield. Vesta in various forms (Vesta, Vesta Mater, Vesta Deorum Dearumque) receives sacrifices during the same ceremony. The arvals invoke Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and Iuppiter Victor and offer sacrifices to them separately, though within the same ritual.[112] Similarly, Macrobius (certainly drawing on a priestly source) records that Ianus could be invoked in seven different forms when a sacrifice was offered to him, no doubt sometimes during the *same* sacrificial ritual.[113]

As a matter of fact, only a few cases are attested in which a hypostasis becomes emancipated from its parent god to an extent that would justify its recognition as a new deity in its own right. Not surprisingly,

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[111] Martin 1987, 120–123; Martin 1988, 260f.; for the iconography of Fides in general D. E. M. Nash, in: *LIMC* IV (1988), 133–137; Clark 2007, 168f.

[112] Scheid no. 30 cd lines 10–13; no. 62a, lines 48–54 [101 A.D.]; no. 94 II line 4 [183 A.D.]; no. 99a, lines 26f. [213 A.D.]; no. 105 b lines 11f. [224 A.D.] with Scheid 2003, 185.

[113] Macr. *sat.* 1.19.15: *in sacris quoque invocamus Ianum Geminum, Ianum Patrem, Ianum Iunonium, Ianum Consivium, Ianum Quirinum, Ianum Patulcium et Clusivium.*

all such cases were connected with the highest god, Iuppiter. These will now be dealt with in greater detail.

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It was not by chance that Fides had her temple on the Capitol next to that of Iuppiter.[114] The vicinity of the spatial foci of the two cults reflected the complementary functions of the god of 'oaths' (Iuppiter) and the goddess of 'trust' (Fides).[115] Given the fact that a similar local proximity is in evidence for the predecessor of the Capitoline triad (Capitolium Vetus) and the cult place of Dius Fidius on the Quirinal, one may tentatively assume that this closeness was again motivated by complementary functions. Three considerations suggest that both Dius Fidius on the Quirinal and Fides on the Capitol form hypostases of the relevant cults of Iuppiter.

Firstly, etymology. Despite attempts by the ancients to interpret the epithet Fidius as *filius* ('son'),[116] there is no reasonable doubt among modern scholars that the word is connected to *fides* ('trust').[117] Besides, whatever the exact etymology of *Dius*, there is a consensus among scholars that the word is somehow linked to the semantic field of Iuppiter, either as an adjective meaning 'bright',[118] or more directly as 'belonging to Iuppiter'.[119] Even the ancient etymologists consistently sensed the link with Iuppiter.[120]

Secondly, ritual. We now nothing of the cult of Dius Fidius, though we do have important information concerning the cult of Fides on the Capitol, which for the sake of argument may be considered here as forming the pendant to the cult of Dius Fidius on the Quirinal. According to Livy, Numa Pompilius established the custom for a number of unspecified *flamines* to drive in a two-horse covered carriage to the temple of Fides.[121] Latte argued that the term *flamines* was here

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[114] Though she received a temple as late as the middle of the third century B.C., there are indications that a cult of Fides might have existed on the same spot earlier, see Freyburger 1986, 259–265; cautious Reusser 1993, 55 and id. in: *LTUR* II (1995), 250 ["kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden"].

[115] Cato ap. Cic. *off.* 3.104 = Cato *orat.* fr. 238 [M]; for Fides on the Capitol cf. also Clark 2007, 61–64, who however completely ignores the affiliation with Iuppiter.

[116] Maltby 1991, 233.

[117] Walde / Hofmann I, 494; Ernout / Meillet 1985, 178, 233.

[118] Walde / Hofmann I, 350, 360; Ernout / Meillet 1985, 178.

[119] Radke 1987, 121.

[120] Maltby 1991, 193.

[121] Liv. 1.21.4: *ad id sacrarium flamines bigis curru arcuato vehi iussit.*

employed vaguely to mean *sacerdotes*.[122] Indeed, in the imperial cult, and especially outside Rome, the two terms may be used interchangeably.[123] However, there does not seem to exist a single instance of such lax usage in Republican Rome nor, for that matter, in the writings of Livy. The opposite is true: in the preceding chapter (as elsewhere), Livy explicitly and in very accurate terms mentions the foundation of the office of the *flamen Dialis* by Numa.[124] Latte's suggestion does not answer the fundamental question as to which priests were actually meant. For a priest of Fides ('*sacerdos Fidei*') does not seem to be attested anywhere in Rome, and the plural form of the word in the Livian passage would remain a mystery even if there had been one such priest. Hence, we do better to take Livy at his word. In this case, the number of *flamines* could be approximately determined by the fact that a single two-horse carriage (*bigis curru* [sing.]) could carry three persons at most. It is then almost compelling to conclude with Wissowa (and others) that the three *flamines maiores* were meant, with the *flamen Dialis* likely to be the central figure of the group.[125] In other words, if Wissowa is right, the *flamen Dialis* (and perhaps also the *flamines* of Mars and Quirinus) was connected to the cult of Fides on the Capitol (and possibly by extension also to the cult of Dius Fidius on the Quirinal), thus establishing a direct link between the priest of Iuppiter and the cult of Fides.

Thirdly, the location of the sanctuary: hypostases, especially those of Iuppiter, display a tendency to cluster around their hyperstasis in spatial terms. One such cluster of spatial foci of the cult of Iuppiter is the Capitol, as I have shown above.

To conclude, both Dius Fidius and Fides were likely to be hypostases of Iuppiter, and felt to be so by the Romans. Their official status is evidenced by the participation of *flamines* in their (or at least the latter's) cult and by their public temples. But this hardly means that they were on a par with Iuppiter: for instance, neither was called upon in official contexts as guarantor or protector of oaths. This domain apparently remained reserved to Iuppiter.[126]

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[122] Latte 1960, 237 n. 4; followed e.g. by Ogilvie 1965, 104.

[123] *TLL* s.v. *flamen* 850.6–20; Gradel 2002, 85f.

[124] Liv. 1.20.2: *flaminem Iovi adsiduum sacerdotem creavit.*

[125] Wissowa 1912, 134 with Freyburger 1986, 250f.

[126] Iuppiter is already invoked in the treaty with Alba, the earliest treaty mentioned by Livy (Liv. 1.24.7f.), see also e.g. *RS* no. 7 line 24 (*Lex Latina Tabulae Bantinae*, end of 2nd cent. B.C.); *RS* no. 8 line 20 (*Tarentum Fragment, ca.* 100 B.C. or slightly later), *RS* no. 12 [p. 251, Delphi copy, block C; *Lex de provinciis praetoriis*, first third of first cent. B.C.);

There is no doubt that the name Vediovis is a derivative of Iuppiter, regardless of whether the correct cult title is Vediovis,[127] Veiovis,[128] Vedius,[129] or Vedius Iovis.[130] As a derivative, it is clear that Vediovis is younger than Iuppiter. The etymological connection, as well as the erection of a temple of Vediovis in the immediate vicinity of the Capitoline Iuppiter,[131] further suggest that the god began his divine existence as a Jovian hypostasis. Besides this, the god was a local concept, for apart from an isolated inscription from the close vicinity of Rome it is attested (and poorly at that) only in the Etruscan pantheon as Vetis/Veive, where, however, it appears to have been borrowed from the Romans.[132]

Having said that, the name Vediovis is odd. It was not the norm for a god to derive his name from another theonym by means of suffixation. Hence, the reading Vedius Iovis (normally changed to Vediovis) in the basic Laurentinian codex (F) of Varro's *Lingua Latina* merits consideration.[133] A Jovian hypostasis, specified originally by an attribute *vedius*, would more effectively explain why some sources repeatedly refer to the god simply as Iuppiter: thus, Livy mentions the latter, where he (or perhaps better his source) reports the foundation of two temples of Vediovis in Rome.[134] In the same vein, both Vitruvius and Ovid refer to the god's temple on the Tiber island as that of Iuppiter.[135] Finally, an enigmatic entry in the *Fasti Praenestini*, according to which the festival of the dead on December 23 (*Larentalia*) belonged to Iuppiter, would

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RS no. 25. lxxxi. line 19 (*Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, 44 B.C.); Freyburger 1986, 284–286. For the invocation of Dius Fidius in private contexts see e.g. Plaut. *asin.* 23; Cato ap. Gell. 10.14.3 = Cato *orat.* fr 176 [M]; Paul Fest. 133.1–5 [L]. As with Dius Fidius, Fides appears in private or literary contexts only, cf. Enn. *trag.* 350 [J] with Freyburger 1986, 229–248. For inscriptional material from outside Rome see Wissowa 1912, 134 with notes; for the lack of autonomy of Fides see also Freyburger 1986, 286f.

[127] *Fast. Ant. Vet.* in Degrassi 1963, 2; *Fast. Praen.* in Degrassi 1963, 121; Gell. 5.12.2; Paul. Fest. 519.22 [L] al.

[128] Plin. *nat.* 16.216; Mart. Cap. 2.166 al.

[129] Mart. Cap. 2.142, 166 al.

[130] Varro *ling.* 5.74.

[131] M. Albertoni, in: *LTUR* V (1999), 99f.

[132] *CIL* I² 1439 = XIV 2387 [Bovillae]; for the Etruscan link see Pfiffig 1975, 236f.

[133] Varro *ling.* 5.74.

[134] Liv. 31.21.12; 34.53.7; 35.41.8 with Radke 1963, 315–318; M. Albertoni, in: *LTUR* V (1999), 99; A. Degrassi, in: *LTUR* V (1999), 101.

[135] Vitr. 3.2.3, Ov. *fast.* 1.293 with A. Degrassi, in: *LTUR* V (1999) 101. At Ov. *fast.* 3.430 the correct reading must be Ve(d)iovis in view of Ovid's discussion of the etymology of the name immediately thereafter (ibid. 3.445–448), but it is clear even there that Ovid identified the god fully with Iuppiter (ibid. 3.437, 440, 447).

find an explanation in this way (for the chthonic aspect of Vediovis, see below).[136]

All sources agree that Vediovis (though still connected) was different in nature from Iuppiter. Two interpretations have been put forward since antiquity, both revolving around the interpretation of *ve-*. According to the first, Vediovis constituted an antithesis of Iuppiter and by extension a chthonic god.[137] According to the second, Vediovis represented a 'small' (= 'young') Iuppiter.[138] Though both interpretations are in principle plausible, the former is better supported by the evidence: Vediovis was called upon, alongside Dis Pater and the Manes, as one of the chthonic deities who brought destruction upon hostile cities.[139] It was to him that the violator of clientele law was handed over, in order to be killed.[140] Similarly, a goat was sacrificed to him *ritu humano*,[141] i.e. in a funeral context.[142] An *Agonium* on May 21, presumably sacred to Vediovis,[143] lay midway between the *Lemuria* and the *Canaria*, which were dedicated to chthonic deities.[144] Indeed, no other Roman god formed a hypostasis on the basis of age, most definitely not in a pantheon in which gods were principally mythless, ageless and without kinship affiliations (factors which alone would have justified such a hypostasis). Furthermore, if there had indeed been a Vedius Iovis as an intermediary form, as suggested above, it would be difficult to appreciate how *vedius* could have adopted the notion of 'small', while the attribute could easily have been interpreted as *ve-dius* meaning 'not bright = dark'. Such an etymological explanation would lend further support to the notion that Vediovis was a chthonic deity.

It could be argued that the misconception of Vediovis as 'small' Iuppiter was presumably due to the fact that next to his Capitoline cult statue stood the image of a goat, which was identified with Amalthea, the goat that fed the young Zeus with its milk in his Cretan haunt.[145] But apart from the fact that the depiction of such niceties of Greek myth

[136] Degrassi 1963, 543f.
[137] Gell. 5.12.8–10.
[138] Ov. *fast.* 3.445–448; Paul. Fest. 519.22 [L].
[139] Macr. *sat.* 3.9.10.
[140] Dion. Hal. *ant.* 2.10.4.
[141] Gell. 5.12.12.
[142] For the connection of the rite with burials see Paul. Fest. 91.24 [L].
[143] For doubts see e.g. Degrassi 1963, 460.
[144] For both festivals see Wissowa 1912, 235f.
[145] Ov. *fast.* 3.443f. For the cult statue also Martin 1987, 24f.

are unlikely to have occurred in the case of an old, exclusively Roman hypostasis, the goat itself was apparently felt by the Romans to stand in a patent contrast to Jovian nature. This is why the *flamen Dialis* was not allowed to touch or even name the animal.[146] This means, therefore, that the goat represented the antithesis of Iuppiter and appeared as Vediovis' sacrificial animal in the statuary group. This, at least, is how Gellius interpreted the scene. It could be parallelled by similar statuary groups of other deities accompanied by their sacrificial animals.[147]

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A special case is the development of Liber from an independent deity into a Jovian hypostasis. Liber appears firmly established in the earliest calendar with his festival *Liberalia* on March 17. The nature of the festival (a phallus procession) marks him as essentially a fertility and vegetation deity and makes the participation in the festival (and possibly the very existence at this early stage) of his counterpart Libera unlikely (in fact, Liber may originally have been of undetermined sex, like Pales or Ceres).[148] Liber's nature was radically transformed when his cult was conjoined with that of Ceres (again, an old Italian fertility deity, with whom Liber may have entertained earlier cult relations) and that of (the newly-created?) Libera. The triad received a temple on the Aventine in 493 B.C.[149] While it is clear that Liber and Ceres, considered separately, were old autonomous Italian gods, the addition of Libera and the formation of the new triad with its own temple was Greek in concept. This is supported by plenty of evidence: for instance, the temple was reportedly erected at the prompting of the Sibylline books,[150] it was the first sanctuary to be decorated by Greek artists,[151] the priestesses of the triad were Greeks by birth from southern Italy,[152] and all cultic terms were Greek.[153] The Romans themselves considered

[146] Gell. 10.15.12; Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 290 A–B [111] with Wissowa 1912, 238.
[147] Gell. 5.12.12; for similar juxtapositions see E. Simon, in: *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997), 184f.
[148] For the festival see Radke 1965, 175f.; for deities of undetermined sex, Warde Fowler 1916, 73.
[149] For the temple F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* I (1993), 260f.
[150] D. H. *ant.* 6.17.3.
[151] Plin. *nat.* 35.154.
[152] Cic. *Balb.* 55; Val. Max. 1.1.1; *CIL* VI 2181 = 32443.
[153] Cicl. *Balb.* 55.

the cult a Greek 'transplant'.[154] Most significantly, the constellation of the triad itself, especially the inclusion (creation?) of Libera for that purpose, was modelled on the well known Greek triad of Demeter, Dionysos and Kore.

Once a Greek link was established, Liber could be identified not only with Dionysos, but also with Iuppiter. For it was only a matter of time before Liber ('free') was identified with Zeus Eleuther(i)os, the protector of Greek freedom during the Persian Wars.[155] This step was taken elsewhere in Italy and in Delos too.[156] Regardless of whether political acumen or etymological ignorance served to motivate it, such an identification led to the creation in Rome of a new hypostasis of Iuppiter, that of Iuppiter Liber/Libertas. The god received a temple on the Aventine (not a particularly 'Jovian' spot) on April 13, a day sacred to Iuppiter.[157]

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Occasionally, gods were differentiated according to sex. This can be illustrated by the existence of pairs of male and female deities such as Liber/Libera, Ceres/Cerus, Faunus/Fauna (Silvanus/Silvana), and Cacus/Caca.[158] Where the sources provide relevant information, these pairs are bound by kinship: Libera is said to be the sister of Liber,[159] Caca of Cacus,[160] and Fauna either the daughter, sister, or wife of Faunus.[161] However, the *raison d'être* of such pairs was not a—non-existent—Roman fondness for divine genealogies, but the complementary, sex-related spheres of their competences (fertility, cattle-raising), although Ceres and Liber may originally have been sex-indifferent nouns.[162] It also has to be noted that both partners are never equally prominent. This may well suggest that they did not come into being as pairs, but that one partner was modelled on the other, thereby allowing the lesser

[154] Cic. *Balb.* 55; *Verr.* 2.4.108; 2.5.187; Paul. Fest. 86.7–11 [L]; Val. Max. 1.1.1; Lact. *inst.* 2.4.28–30.
[155] Bömer 1981, 111–131.
[156] References in Radke 1965, 179.
[157] M. Andreussi, in: *LTUR* III (1996), 144.
[158] Cf. also the completely obscure Volumna / Volumnus at Aug. *civ.* 4.21. The relation of the goddess Rumina to the Jovian epithet Ruminus (Aug. *civ.* 7.11) is equally dubious.
[159] Cic. *nat. deor.* 2.62.
[160] Serv. *Aen.* 8.190; Lact. *inst.* 1.20.36.
[161] References in Radke 1965, 121.
[162] Warde Fowler 1916, 73 and above in this chapter.

party to develop its own iconography. Such a development is in evidence in Rome for Libera (taking over the iconography of Proserpina) and Silvana (Silvanus was generally identified with Faunus).[163]

It remains hard to determine whether the early sex-oriented differentiation of divine competences was actually a Roman invention or simply a foreign adaptation. There are indications that Faunus/Fauna are Illyrian imports.[164] The same may perhaps be true of Liber/Libera,[165] unless Libera was simply 'invented' on the occasion of the foundation of the Aventine triad (see above). By contrast, Cerus as a correspondent to Ceres appears only in the Salian hymn[166] and in a third-century B.C. inscription from the vicinity of Rome,[167] and therefore seems to be a Roman product. In the same vein, Caca, forming a pendant to Cacus, has been convincingly interpreted as an older Roman goddess despite her rare and late appearance in the sources. Servius mentions a *sacellum* consecrated to her which was, one may guess, located in Rome.[168]

4. *Dissolution*

Divine concepts are never static, but are constantly recreated, developed, refined and abandoned. They are unpredictable in terms of their actual development, not in terms of the inner logic of this development. While their future destination is always unknown, the means to arrive there are invariably fixed by the limits set by the process of conceptual derivation. In the previous chapter, I have tried to analyze the movement towards the formation of divine concepts. In this chapter I will discuss the reverse process, viz. their dissolution.

Roman gods were conceptualized by means of conceptual foci. Such foci could become increasingly specific (focalization) or blurred (defocalization). In fact, conceptual focalization can be viewed as the process of gradual conceptualization of a Roman deity, while conceptual defocalization may be considered as tantamount to its gradual dissolu-

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[163] For a representation of Silvana on a Roman marble relief see A. M. Nagy, in: *LIMC* suppl. (1997) 1134 [no. 11].
[164] Radke 1965, 121.
[165] Radke 1965, 182f.
[166] Paul. Fest. 109.7 [L] = *Carm. Sal.* 4 [*FPL*]; Varro *ling.* 7.26 = *Carm. Sal.* 3.2 [*FPL*].
[167] *CIL* I² 445.
[168] Serv. *Aen.* 8.190; Lact. *inst.* 1.20.36; Small 1982, 32–34.

tion. The resulting instability of divine concepts was thus not restricted to any specific period of Roman polytheism. Rather, it was inherent in the conceptual system and a natural response to social and historical changes at all times. No doubt, however, the advent of the imperial cult was an accelerating force towards destabilization.

I have already referred to a patent example of defocalization of a Republican cult: when Quirinus was eventually identified with Romulus, his traditional conceptual foci became blurred, while Romulus received a new, god-like, though perhaps not fully divine, appearance.[169]

However, it was the imperial cult that contributed most to the defocalization of Republican cults. For, parasite-like, it attached itself indiscriminately to traditional conceptual foci of all kinds of divinity. It occupied the spatial foci of other gods by the erection of imperial images in their precincts, it took over temporal foci through synchronizing temple anniversaries with imperial events. It blurred personnel foci by allowing the combination of traditional and imperial priesthoods in the hands of the same person. It compromised traditional iconography by imitating the physiognomy and attributes of traditional cult statues. Lastly, it took the edge of venerated rituals by copying and deflecting them from their original target deities. In short, no constituent concept of the traditional divinities remained untouched by its surreptitious advance. There can be little doubt, then, that it considerably accelerated the natural process of dissolution of many age-old conceptual foci of Roman gods, while at the same time it cleared the way for the formation of a divine concept with a completely new and powerful set of constituent concepts, which was soon to subvert Iuppiter and Caesar alike, viz. the Christian god.

The continuous focalization and defocalization of concepts were natural and self-regulating processes. Apart from that, cultic foci were on occasion artificially abolished by the Roman authorities. Primary targets were the spatial foci of hostile cults, with the objective of either abolishing them or submitting them to direct public control. It is not by chance that the first regulation of the Tiriolo decree, restricting the cult of Bacchus in 186 B.C., suppressed the cult places of the god. Slightly modified, the same regulation was repeated at the end of the decree, thus laying exceptional emphasis on the spatial aspect.[170] Livy confirms

[169] See chapter I.3.
[170] *CIL* I^2 581.3–6, 27–30.

the priority of actions against the spatial foci of the cult.[171] Besides this, when the senate decided to restrict the cult of Isis and Sarapis in Rome during the first half of the first century B.C., the most important measure (and therefore the only one mentioned by the sources) was the destruction of a temple.[172] A similar attack on the spatial markers of the Egyptian gods, viz. a number of altars erected on the Capitol, is mentioned by Varro for 58 B.C.[173] On other occasions, we hear of senatorial interventions against the cult in connection with demolition of sanctuaries.[174] Furthermore, the importance of space is clearly manifest in the case of emperors who had been publically outlawed (*damnatio memoriae*). Most notably, of course, they would not be divinized, and accordingly would not receive a temple. After Caligula's demise, the senate even considered destroying the existing temples of imperial worship in an attempt to annihilate for good all memory of imperial rule.[175] However, other measures too served to make the condemned emperor invisible (i.e. non-existent) in spatial terms. For instance, his statues were destroyed or removed from public view. His name or depictions were erased from public monuments (e.g. none of Domitian's dedicatory inscriptions in Rome remained intact after his condemnation). Most notably, the iconography of his statues was changed and his presence in urban space thus obliterated (see below).[176]

In the case of condemned emperors, there is good evidence for the abolition of temporal foci too, since their names were purged from the official calendar.[177] The *Feriale Duranum*, dating from the beginning of the reign of Alexander Severus (222–235 A.D.), bears witness to the long-term impact of such purgative measures in the official army calendar: despite the high percentage of days related to the imperial cult, references to those emperors who had not received deification (e.g. Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Domitian) are lacking.[178] The symbolic significance of the calendar becomes apparent when Claudius did not

[171] Liv. 39.18.7.
[172] Val. Max. 1.3.4.
[173] Varro *ant.* fr. 46a,b [Cardauns].
[174] Dio 40.47.3f.; 42.26.2; Jos. *ant. Jud.* 18.79.
[175] Suet. *Cal.* 60 with Varner 2004, 21.
[176] Stewart 2003, 267–299; Varner 2004, 1–9.
[177] Herz 1978, 1190f.
[178] For the Divi worshipped in the calendar see Fink/Hoey/Snyder 1940, 181–187.

allow the day of his enthronement to be celebrated as a holiday, since it was on that day that his predecessor was murdered.[179]

Besides, public authorities could suppress iconographic foci. In this vein, more than one hundred sculptures of Caligula, Nero and Domitian were 'remade' after the emperors' death. In other words, their characteristic physiognomy was changed to avoid any resemblance to the disdained rulers. This process of reconfiguring unwanted representations of emperors reached a peak in the first century A.D. and reemerged again in the third. Apparently, its first victim was Caligula.[180]

Finally, ritual: the Bacchanalian decree forbade any secret ritual foci and granted the performance of public rituals only after permission by Roman authorities. Furthermore, restrictions were placed on the number and gender of participants in the rituals.[181] In a similar vein, Augustus and Agrippa intervened in cultic actions directed towards Egyptian gods, by expelling them outside the *pomerium* (though not prohibiting them entirely).[182]

Naturally, state intervention did not turn against all adherents of illicit cults in the same way. Those most involved, i.e. the priests or more generally personnel foci, were affected first. The Tiriolo decree, regulating the ban on the cult of Bacchus at the beginning of the second century B.C., excluded men from the priesthood of Bacchus and prevented the election of masters or vice-masters among the Bacchants, apparently a blow against the collegial character of the group.[183] More generally, magicians were restricted in their activities by Roman legislation such as that found already in the Twelve Tablets and later on in Sulla's law passed in 81 B.C. against murderers and those who wrought harmful magic (*lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis*).[184] Punitive measures, above all expulsion and death, were directed against any type of magician, both during the Republic and under the Empire.[185]

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[179] Suet. *Claud.* 11.3. This is not to say that administrative and other types of documents, especially of a more private nature, were or could be modified to exclude the condemned emperors: for instance, the latter regularly occur in the acts of the arvals, cf. Vittinghoff 1936, 41f.; Pailler/Sablayrolles 1994, 15f.

[180] Varner 2004, *passim*, esp. 4f.

[181] *CIL* I² 581.15–22; cf. Liv. 39.18.8f.

[182] Dio 53.2.4; 54.6.6.

[183] *CIL* I² 581.10–12; cf. Liv. 39.18.9; Schultz 2006, 89–92.

[184] *RS* 682f., 749–753; Dickie 2001, 142–152; Rives 2006.

[185] Dickie 2001, 152–157, 192–201.

Among the many attempts by the authorities to restrict specific divine concepts, none was more notorious and ultimately unsuccessful than the attacks launched against the Christians. Here the authorities ran into two difficulties. On the one hand, it was not at all easy for them to establish with certainty the adherence of a suspect to the Christian faith, because the only bond that tied one Christian to another was joint prayer in conjunction with the temporal focus of Easter, and neither of these two elements was easy to prove. In fact, unless a Christian confessed to his faith, his or her adherence to the Christian god could be demonstrated only *ex negativo*: ideally, a Christian was someone who would *not* sacrifice to the emperor and the traditional gods even under the threat of death.[186] But this criterion was weak and insufficient, as soon as a defendant actually ignored the Christian dogma of the incompatibility of the simultaneous worship of God and pagan gods.

The second problem Roman authorities encountered was the fact that given the dearth of conceptual foci of the Christian god, there was precious little left to control. Daily prayers and a belief in salvation via resurrection were beyond the reach of Roman officialdom, and spatial foci or priests who could be hold responsible were non-existent. It is then fair to say that it was the essential lack of major conceptual foci of the Christian god that made him uniquely resistant to his persecutors.

[186] Plin. *ep.* 10.96.5.

CHAPTER THREE

A TEST CASE: THE SECULAR GAMES OF 17 B.C.

1. *Celebrations*

Thus far, I have tried to trace the constituent concepts of the concepts of Roman 'gods', exploiting Roman history as a quarry (so to speak) in order to corroborate my argument. No doubt, many historians will feel that this use of history is arbitrary and that the constituent concepts I have argued for were applicable only because I had chosen such an ahistorical and apparently selective approach. In order to counter this objection, I now intend to reverse my procedure. Instead of reaching back from a specific concept to the historical phenomenon, I propose here to take a specific, historically dated and well documented event as my starting point and to demonstrate how the same conceptual approach can again lead to a satisfactory description of the concepts of divinity involved. The historical phenomenon I have chosen as a test case is the Augustan Secular Games of 17 B.C., first of all because of its pivotal role in the religious history of Rome, and secondly because of its uniquely rich documentation, which comprises the proceedings of the Games, coins, the records of various historians and antiquarians, and of course Horace's famous hymn, which was performed on this occasion. Since I am convinced that Horace's hymn actually reflects the poet's personal, unofficial interpretation of the event, which differs markedly from the one the organizers of the Games had in mind, this chapter is subdivided into two sections, the actual celebrations of the Games, as planned by the organizers, and Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*. Given the topic of this book, my argument will concentrate on the way in which gods were conceptualized during the Games.

When Augustus decided to organize the Games in 17 B.C., one of his motives was undoubtedly the desire to mark the end of decades of civil war and the beginning of a new era of peace and prosperity. He could have done so by establishing a novel temporal focus in the same vein as Sulla and Caesar had established the *Ludi Victoriae Sullae*

and *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* in 81 B.C. and 46 B.C. respectively.[1] But the conceptual focus Augustus had in mind was different. While Sulla and Caesar had intended to mark their own achievements and by extension that of their *gens* and its foundress, Venus, Augustus wanted to signal a new *era*. While Sulla's and Caesar's actional frame were the Civil Wars, Augustus' perspective was Roman history in its entirety. This explains why the two dictators sought no historical legitimacy for their new creations, while Augustus set out to anchor his Games deeply in the Roman past, reaching back to the beginning of Roman democracy and out to the Greek world. For whatever account we choose to follow, the sources unanimously declare that Augustus' Games were already the fifth in a row, whose beginning is variously placed in 509 or 456 B.C.[2] As for the ideological scope, the participation of exclusively Greek deities such as the Moerae and Ilithyia, the sacrifice *Achivo ritu*, and the local connection of the Games to a place called Tarentum, alongside other indications, clearly demonstrate that Augustus was concerned with a merger of Greek and Roman elements into a new Augustan oikoumene of cult.[3]

Notwithstanding the claim of a long tradition, the historical truth is that the only verifiable candidate for Secular Games prior to those of 17 B.C. were those held in 249 B.C. (called Ludi Tarentini in the sources), and these were markedly different in nature. They were perhaps not even Secular Games at all, but were wrongly interpreted as such by a biased, although early, tradition.[4] Nevertheless, if we want to examine to what extent the Secular Games of 17 B.C. were actually derived from this tradition, the Games of 249 B.C., officially the third Games, must serve as a starting point, for nothing is known about the fourth Games, which would have been hold in 149 B.C. The information we possess on the Games of 249 B.C. is ultimately drawn from Valerius Antias, the second- and early first-century historian.[5] I follow the reconstruction by Nilsson:[6] the Games were organized following an

[1] Bernstein 2007, 231f.

[2] According to Augustus' reckoning (postulating a cycle of 110 years) the first Games took place 456, while another tradition places the first Games even earlier, in 509 or 504 B.C., cf. Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 156–164; for the notion of *saeculum* see Feeney 2007, 145–148.

[3] Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 118f.

[4] Kienast 1999, 223f.

[5] The relevant passages are conveniently collected in Pighi 1965, 43–55 [Zosimus] and 59–66 [Verrius Flaccus].

[6] Nilsson 1920, 1705.

omen and subsequent consultation of the Sibylline oracle. Their ritual focus was the nocturnal sacrifice of a black bull to Dis and a black cow to Proserpina, offered on a subterranean, normally covered, altar in an area of the Campus Martius called Tarentum. After the Games, the altar was buried again. Besides, a *lectisternium* (a food offering in front of the image of the god, placed on pillows) to Dis and, correspondingly, a *sellisternium* (the same, but with the divine image placed on 'chairs') to Proserpina were held. In addition, the performance of a cult song is on record. The Games lasted certainly for three nights, presumably including daytime activities of some kind.

Augustus envisioned the creation of a new concept of 'Ludi Saeculares' based on a tradition that included the Games of 249 (and 149?) B.C. In order to minimize arbitrary or hazardous changes of the tradition, a specialist was called into service, the famous jurist Ateius Capito. His employment shows how determined the ruler was to mould his new concepts on a well-founded tradition. Had he wanted to blindly imitate tradition, or on the contrary to abandon tradition completely, a legal expert would have hardly been necessary. But to serve his cause of legitimately deriving new concepts from older ones, no profession was better suited than that of a jurist.

In order to discern how Capito developed the Secular Games in conceptual terms, I will begin with those concepts that remained unchanged, i.e. concepts underlying the model Ludi Tarentini which were either unnecessary or impossible for Capito to modify without abandoning the concept of Secular Games altogether. These may be tentatively called the constituent concepts of the concept of Secular Games of 17 B.C. There were six such constituents. First, there was the consultation of the Sibyl. Second, there were nocturnal sacrifices. Third, *sellisternia* were held. Fourth, there was the location of the ceremonies, the so-called Tarentum, in the Campus Martius, at the bank of the Tiber. Fifth, a hymn was sung. Sixth, the duration of the Games was presumably a *triduum* (a period of three days).

While these six constituent concepts of Secular Games in their general form were common to both the Games of 249 B.C. and 17 B.C., these six constituent concepts were, of course, themselves formed from specific constituent concepts, and it was here, i.e. on the level of the constituent concepts of the constituent concepts of the 'Ludi Saeculares', that Capito intervened. For instance, both Games were founded on a Sibylline oracle, but the earlier oracle was given after a bad omen, while the latter was simply arranged by the Quindecimviri in order to bring it into line with the earlier occasion (see below).

Furthermore, the sacrifices of 249 B.C. were offered in the Tarentum at night with a black bull and cow as sacrificial animals, while in 17 B.C., sacrifices were performed in the Tarentum *and elsewhere* (Capitoline temple, Apollo's Palatine temple) by night *and day*, with various kinds of victims *and bloodless sacrifices*, among them also a bull and a cow (whose color is not specified, but was presumably *white*). On the other hand, while the Games of 249 seem to have witnessed both *lectisternia* and *sellisternia*, only the latter are on record for the Augustan Games. Even more important in our context, though, is the replacement of the two deities to whom the Games of 249 were dedicated (Dis, Proserpina) by seven deities of the Augustan event (in order of appearance: Moerae, Iuppiter, Ilithyia, Iuno, Terra Mater, Apollo and Diana).[7] This replacement shows with all desirable clarity that the concepts of specific gods were *not* constituent of the concept of 'Ludi Saeculares'. In Capito's thinking, any god could be legitimately worshipped during the Secular Games, as long as the six basic constituents, consisting of a Sibylline oracle, nocturnal sacrifices, *lectisternia/sellisternia*, Tarentum, hymn, and *triduum*, were retained. It also shows that ritual foci such as the Secular Games could exist without a direct attachment to specific gods.

Here it is advisable to pause for a moment and to consider the importance of the proceedings of the seventh Games, held by Septimius Severus in 204. As in the case of the Augustan Games, the proceedings of the Games have been preserved.[8] At a number of places, the Severan proceedings record details that are omitted from the Augustan proceedings. Scholars from Mommsen on have fleshed out details of the Augustan Games from information drawn from their successor, assuming that the Augustan record was less detailed but based on exactly the same ritual sequence. If we agree that concepts are constantly derived and imitated rather than copied, we must stress the arbitrariness of such an approach. In fact, it is usually impossible to tell whether the Severan Games developed a specific conceptual point of the Augustan Games into a new direction, or whether the

[7] 'Replacement' is the right word even if we follow Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 119 in her assumption—based on information about the Severan Games—that a preparatory sacrifice (*sacrum hostiae praecidaneae*) was offered to Dis and Proserpina on the day preceding the actual Games. This sacrifice, if performed in 17 B.C., was scarcely conceived of as constituent of the Games.

[8] Pighi 1965, 137–194.

proceedings of the Augustan Games are simply careless in reporting accurately the ritual sequence.[9]

During the Augustan Games, seven gods were invoked. Some of them, such as Iuppiter, Iuno, Apollo and Diana, had been well known for centuries in the capital, and were as such conceptually rather fixed. Others such as the Moerae, Ilithyia and Terra Mater (here not to be confused with Tellus), had never or only very sporadically enjoyed worship in the city. This distinction has to be born in mind when we now turn to the way in which divine concepts were conceptualized during the Games.

Space: Traditional gods had traditional spatial foci of worship. The Augustan Games took part of these foci into account. Iuppiter and Iuno received both their sacrifice and prayer in front of the Capitoline sanctuary, as did Apollo in his newly erected Palatine residence. The Moerae and Ilithyia had no sanctuary in Rome. This and their apparent Greekness made them natural occupants of the Greek-sounding Tarentum.

More difficult is the question of Diana and Terra Mater. Diana had a famous temple on the Aventine. Why was she worshipped not there, but in Apollo's residence on the Palatine? And is Terra Mater, as the goddess appears in the proceedings, really to be identified with the age-old Roman Tellus (as most scholars believe)? If so, why was she not worshipped in the latter's temple, which was situated somewhere north or north-west of the later Colosseum? True, Diana's and Tellus' temples would not have been particularly close to the area of the Tarentum. But neither was the Palatine temple of Apollo. Nevertheless, the latter formed the center of the rituals performed on the third day of the Games. One may want to argue that Diana had a cult statue in the Palatine temple, and that it was only legitimate to venerate her there. But her position in Apollo's temple was merely that of a parhedros. And apart from everything else, if she received honours because of her presence in the Palatine temple, why were not honours paid to Latona too, who was a parhedros of Apollo in the same temple?[10]

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[9] Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 153 with n. 428 admits the problem.

[10] Prop. 2.31.15. Zos. 2.5.2 saw the problem and included Latona among the gods who were worshipped on the third day. Besides this, there are discrepancies between the text of the oracle and the worship of both Apollo and Diana. According to the oracle, Apollo should receive the same sacrifice as Iuno (i.e. a cow), but the proceedings mention various cakes; and Diana is not mentioned at all in the oracle as a deity who participates in the Games, cf. Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 145, 224.

These and other questions can be answered if we try to understand how Capito conceived of the Tarentum. Whatever the actual etymology of the word, I am convinced that he interpreted the place symbolically as Greek territory.[11] The key to the spatial aspect of divinity here is the dichotomy of the foreign/Greek spatial foci of nocturnal deities situated in the Tarentum, i.e. outside the *pomerium*,[12] and the domestic/Roman spatial foci of daylight deities located inside it.[13] As a consequence of this dichotomy, the gods worshipped in the 'Tarentum' had to be as foreign/Greek in appearance as possible. This explains why the Moerae were worshipped in the Tarentum, rather than their Latin equivalent, the Parcae. It also solves the problem acutely posed by Schnegg-Köhler, of why Ilithyia is not mentioned here in her Roman form as Mater Matuta, who apart from her functional similarity, had her own temple very close by, in the Forum Boarium (i.e. inside the *pomerium*!).[14] The same reasoning prevents us from identifying Terra Mater, worshipped in the Tarentum, with Tellus as worshipped in her intra-pomerial temple: the Terra Mater of the Games is (or better, is conceptualized as being) thoroughly Greek (i.e. *gē mâtēr*), not the 'Roman' Tellus.[15] Finally and most importantly, it explains why Diana is not worshipped in her Aventine temple: the latter was situated outside the *pomerium*, as was the Aventine hill as a whole. That is the reason why she was connected with Apollo's Palatine temple. The notion of the Tarentum as foreign/Greek territory, in which foreign/Greek gods were worshipped, can also explain why the two blood sacrifices to the Moerae and Tellus Mater, both performed at the Tarentum, were the only ones performed according to 'Greek rite' (*Achivo ritu*; according to the proceedings, Ilithyia did not receive a blood sacrifice, but various sorts of cakes).[16]

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[11] *Pace* Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 186–189.

[12] For the location of the Tarentum outside the *pomerium* see Coarelli 1997, 131.

[13] This dichotomy which pervades the whole Games was rightly thrown into high relief by Feeney 1998.

[14] Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 138f.

[15] *Pace* e.g. Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 118, but rightly seen by Feeney 1998, 29f.

[16] *Acta* C 91, 115, 134 [Schnegg-Köhler]. Schnegg-Köhler's conjecture in line 119f. (based on the Severan inscription) according to which Iuno too received a sacrifice *Graeco ritu*, is unwarranted, cf. Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 68f. Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 140 is inaccurate when she points to the connection of the cult of Iuno in the inscription with the 'Greek rite'. The latter applied to Iuno Regina, who had arrived from Veii and as such was worshipped on the Aventine hill (i.e. outside the *pomerium*!), not on the Capitol (cf. Wissowa 1912, 191). Furthermore, on a coin from Spain, which explicitly

One might counter that, historically speaking, Apollo was the Greek god *par excellence* in the Roman pantheon. So why was he counted among the group of Roman domestic gods? Although there is no doubt about Apollo's Greekness in historical terms, this characteristic is irrelevant to the current context. Here, he was conceptualized as a predominantly Roman god. After all, he served as the chosen patron of the *Roman* emperor and as the symbol of a new *Roman* post-war world order. Apollo was only Greek to the extent that Rome was a Greek foundation. The historical approach is here thoroughly misleading. It is not Apollo's historical Greekness that matters, but his conceptual potential as a Roman god.

The reason why many scholars have overlooked the spatial dichotomy is the fact that they unwittingly interpreted the proceedings in the light of Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*. As will be shown in the next chapter, Horace did everything in his immense poetic powers to blur the dichotomy and make even the Greek deities, which were conceptualized by Capito as such, look Roman. He referred to the Moerae as Parcae, assimilated Ilithyia to Diana and Iuno, and transformed Terra Mater into Tellus.[17]

Time: With regard to the nocturnal sacrifices, the phenomenon is common in Greece, though apparently restricted to certain groups of divine concepts such as chthonic gods and heroes.[18] The nocturnal sacrifice to the Moerae during the Games can be explained by the fact that they were considered to be children of the goddess Night since Hesiod at least, and could thus be easily addressed by nocturnal rituals.[19] Furthermore, Ilithyia, though not particularly associated with night in Greece, appears as parhedros of the Moerae in literature at least since Pindar[20] and in representational art on Athenian black-figure vase paintings.[21] Chthonic gods were generally worshipped at night in

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refers to the Augustan Games, a man is depicted offering a sacrifice with his head veiled, i.e. *ritu Romano*. Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 218f. unjustly doubts the historicity of the scene depicted, claiming that it is 'well-known' that during the Games most sacrifices were performed *Graeco* or *Achivo ritu*. In any case, the distinction between 'Greek' and 'Roman' rites was a Roman construct, as Scheid has repeatedly and convincingly argued, cf. e.g. Scheid 2003a, 36–38.

[17] Hor. *carm. saec.* 13–16 [Ilithyia], 25–28 [Parcae], 29–32 [Tellus], cf. the next section.

[18] Stengel 1920, 149–151.

[19] Hes. *Th.* 217.

[20] Pin. *Nem.* 7.1–3 al.

[21] Pingiatoglou 1981, 95–97.

Greece, as I have mentioned above, and so were Dis and Proserpina in Rome at the Games in 249 B.C. Ilithyia's nocturnal worship is not surprising, therefore, since she was a deity of childbirth and nursing.[22] To the same category belongs Terra Mater, who, apart from her chthonic nature, may perhaps be identified with Greek Demeter, who herself was worshipped in nocturnal ceremonies in Greece.[23]

Personnel: Major personnel foci for the formation of divine concepts during the Games were the Quindecimviri, mentioned repeatedly, and among them most notably Augustus and Agrippa.[24] Only the latter two performed sacrifices and offered prayers on behalf of the community, and therefore only they served as personnel foci of the divine concepts addressed. Augustus' seniority is marked by the fact that he alone offers the nocturnal sacrifices and is the first to offer sacrifices to Iuppiter and Apollo/Diana. By contrast, following a convincing conjecture by Schnegg-Köhler, the sacrifice to Iuno on the second day was reserved to Agrippa alone.[25]

Two more categories of personnel foci have to be considered, the matrons and the boys and girls who performed Horace's song. Their number of 110 clearly reflects the number of years of an Augustan *saeculum*. The participation of their full number was needed for the efficacy of the Games.[26] The matrons are attested to have celebrated the *sellisternia* on the Capitol after the first and third nights, and presumably also after the second, although a relevant entry is missing in the Augustan proceedings. The function of the matrons as personnel foci is further enhanced if we relate to the Augustan Games the information of the Severan proceedings that the matrons actually performed their own sacrifices during the *sellisternia*.[27]

The last group of personnel foci were the boys and girls who performed Horace's song. Their focal function is particularly marked by the fact that their parents had to be still alive (*patrimi et matrimi*). The point of this stipulation, though also found elsewhere in Roman cult,

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[22] Hadzistelliou-Price 1978, 209: "Sacrifices and rites to kourotrophoi gods are generally like those of the Chthonians."

[23] E.g. Paus. 7.27.10.

[24] For a detailed discussion about the members of the college during the Games see Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 201–215.

[25] Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 68f., 140f.

[26] *Acta* C 110–114 [Schnegg-Köhler] with Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 135–137.

[27] *Acta* C 100–102, 138 [Schnegg-Köhler] with Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 90–92, 131, 139. For women's sacrifice in general, Schultz 2006, 131–137.

is not clear. It has been interpreted as a mark of distinction, in order to set off a specific group of children untouched by death and grief.[28] Besides, the focal function of the choral singers is highlighted by their number 27. This number is connected both to the 27 cakes offered earlier in the day to Apollo and Diana, and to tradition, which transmits the same number of participants for similar choirs of maidens in 207 and 200 B.C. (but ordered by the pontiffs [sic!]).[29] I do not think there is much meaning behind Capito's numerical constructs apart from the fact that they formed a convenient way to stress the focal function of particular conceptual groups.

Iconography: The most important feature is the dichotomy of aniconic and iconic worship, reflecting faithfully the dichotomy which we have observed in space (extra-pomerial/intra-pomerial) and time (night/day). For the Greek Moerae and Ilithyia had never been venerated in Rome before; nor had Terra Mater, if we refrain (as we should) from identifying her with Tellus. This can only mean that they were worshipped in the Tarentum without a cult statue. By contrast, the remaining diurnal deities were all worshipped at temples which naturally included their cult statues.

Other iconographic foci, apart from the cult statues in the temples involved, were of course the divine statues worshipped during the *sellisternia*. The proceedings do not give any details, but we know for certain that only female deities were worshipped in *sellisternia* and *lectisternia* are not mentioned in the Augustan proceedings. The absence of the latter in the Augustan Games is as inexplicable as is the strange reference to two 'chairs' of Iuno and Diana (respectively) in the *lectisternium* performed on the Capitol after the first night.[30] One is left to wonder whether the two statues of Iuno and Diana actually reflected the same iconographic type of these goddesses.

Function: In terms of function, Capito initiated a remarkable expansion of the scope of functional foci of the gods that were worshipped. In 249 B.C., tribute was paid only to gods associated with the single functional focus of the underworld (Dis, Proserpina), but the Games of 17 B.C. had as a leading principle the dichotomy of function, parallel to the other dichotomies already referred to: chthonic, foreign gods

[28] Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 93.
[29] Liv. 27.37.7–15; 31.12.8f. with Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 234–237.
[30] *Acta* C 102 [Schnegg-Köhler].

of destiny, birth, and fertility (Moerae, Ilithyia, Terra Mater) were countered by heavenly, domestic gods of male and female adulthood combined with supreme political power (Iuppiter, Iuno) as well as prophecy, art, and symbolism of the new regime (Apollo). I stress the fact that the deities involved were 'conceptualized' in this manner by Capito, because, as Scheid correctly observes, historically speaking, at least the Moerae were no chthonic deities.[31] No doubt, Diana joined the group as a fertility deity and (since other fertility deities such as Carmenta, Mater Matuta, and even Iuno would have been at hand) as sister of Apollo.

Nevertheless, these gods were only partly conceptualized as functionally separate. If we look at the prayers recorded in the proceedings, it appears from their wording that they differ from each other only in minor details. This is the reason why the proceedings often refer to their contents in a rather terse fashion as *cetera uti supra*.[32] It is important to note the complete lack of functional focalization in the prayers of the Augustan Games. This is due to a partial identity of functions of all the gods invoked: for whatever their specific functions, they coincided in their ambition and effort for the welfare and permanence of the city of Rome.

Ritual: It is impossible to enter into a discussion of all the ritual foci mentioned in the proceedings. Besides this, the relevant material has been ably collected by Schnegg-Köhler in her edition of the text. I will work selectively, concentrating on sacrifices alone. Much could be said about other ritual foci such as purifications, *sellisternia*, processions, theatrical and other performances, but I am confident that my restriction will not bias the overall picture.

The proceedings record sacrifices to seven deities. To these may perhaps be added an expiatory sacrifice (*hostia praecidanea*) to Dis and Proserpina the day before the actual ceremonies, about which (if it is in fact historical) nothing is known.[33] As for the remaining sacrifices, their existence and ritual details have been thoroughly noted by scholars, while their actual nature has been somehow ignored: Roman sacrifices can be conveniently divided into three groups, 1. supplicatory sacrifices, petitioning the future well-being of the worshippers; 2. expiatory

[31] Scheid 2005, 101.
[32] Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 143.
[33] Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 116, 119. For the nature of such expiatory sacrifices see Krause 1931, 241.

sacrifices, ordered as punishment for unfulfilled obligations towards the deity; and 3. lustrations, atoning for unfavourable omens or portents.[34] The sacrifices performed during the Games of 249 B.C. were clearly lustrations, since they atoned for a frightening omen (lightning),[35] while the sacrifices of the Augustan Games were supplicatory throughout, as is made abundantly clear by the accompanying prayers, which do not refer to atonement or earlier religious violations. Although Zosimus wants us to believe otherwise, the Augustan Games had nothing to do with atonement vis-à-vis a deity, and in any case, the detailed planning of the Augustan Games implied a long period of preparation, which would scarcely accord with an act of atonement.[36]

If we look at the actual items sacrificed, the dichotomies we have observed continue with the ritual foci, if we assume, with support in the Severan proceedings and the text of the Augustan Sibylline oracle, that the sacrificial animals offered to the Moerae and to Terra Mater were black, while those offered to Iuppiter and Iuno were white. This dichotomy was, of course, not Capito's invention, but was ancient and is attested elsewhere, both in Italy and in Greece.[37] Likewise, the sacrifices of two white bulls to Iuppiter and of a white cow to Iuno were conventional. Meanwhile, the whole burnt offering of a pregnant sow to Terra Mater, as mentioned in the Augustan proceedings, does not, as normally claimed, point to an identification with Roman Tellus (although it must be admitted that the goddess is connected with this animal).[38] Rather, in accordance with what has been said above about the Greek nature of Terra Mater, the pig should be connected with Greek Demeter (Roman Ceres), whose favorite victim it also was.[39] Besides, two sets of sacrifices were offered to the Moerae, nine female

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[34] For the difference between expiatory rites and lustrations see Krause 1931, 239f.

[35] Zos. 2.4.1, supported by Verrius Flaccus ap. Schol. *Hor. carm. saec*. 8.

[36] Zos. 2.4.2 gives a very vague reason for the Augustan Games ('…when some unpleasant things happened…') in order to bring them into line with earlier Games; this is not based on historical information. For a discussion of this passage cf. Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 226f., who also suggests (p. 201 n. 3) that the proceedings may have reported the reason in line 52. Anyway, even if such a reason was officially proclaimed, it served to assimilate the Augustan Games to their predecessors and would not deserve any credibility beyond that.

[37] Stengel 1920, 151f.; Krause 1931, 244–246; A. Hermary/M. Leguilloux, in: *ThesCRA* I (2004), 97f.

[38] Krause 1931, 252–255.

[39] A. Hermary/M. Leguilloux, in: *ThesCRA* I (2004), 79–82; *pace* Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 144.

lambs and nine female goats. Zosimus informs us that they were offered on three altars, which implies that each Moera received three lambs and three goats.[40]

Other deities were honoured during the Games not with blood sacrifices, but with different kinds of cakes: the Ilithyiae, Apollo and Diana. Of these, the latter two of course belong together. A bloodless offering to Apollo and his sister has been duly commented on as an inexplicable oddity.[41] As in the case of the Moerae, the impression remains that these ritual foci of the two deities are created not according to the logic of the Games (assuming that there was such a logic) but according to priestly constraints. We should not overlook the fact that—as the prayers in the proceedings monotonously repeat—all the ritual foci were based on, or were supposed to be based on, the 'books of the Quindecimviri'.[42] This claim is often not taken very seriously by modern scholars, because it undermines the cherished notion of the essential novelty of the Augustan Games, but it nevertheless seems more likely that ritual foci of other gods, as written down in these books, were transferred to Apollo and Diana than that foci which so patently contradict the little we know about the ritual foci of these two deities in Rome were simply invented by the Quindecimviri, who were an otherwise highly conservative priestly body. Even under the assumption that Apollo and Diana were conceptualized as the *dei penates* of Augustus' Palatine residence (in contrast to, say, the state gods Iuppiter and Iuno), they would not necessarily have received bloodless sacrifices; and in any case, such an explanation is null and void in the case of the Ilithyiae. Despite all this, the case of Apollo's and Diana's ritual foci is instructive from another point of view: for in theoretical terms, what really constitutes the difficulty in this case is the fact that these ritual foci cannot be derived in conceptual terms from other known concepts. Here we encounter a break, a broken chain of conceptual derivation of which we possess only one single link, namely the ritual foci of Apollo and Diana. We have reached the limits of the conceptual approach.

A word about numbers. The Ilithyiae, Apollo, and Diana are said to have received three sets of nine cakes. In order to make this number congruent with the number of gods worshipped, it is tempting to sug-

[40] Zos. 2.5.3 with Scheid 2005, 99.

[41] E.g. Feeney 1998, 31.

[42] Cf. the frequent expression *uti vobis in illeis libreis scriptum est*, e.g. *Acta* C 92, 105, 117 etc. [Schnegg-Köhler].

gest a triad of Ilithyiae and to add Latona to the group of Apollo and Diana (Latona was worshipped in the Palatine temple of Apollo as a parhedros of her son, as was her daughter Diana). By doing so, we could distribute the cake offerings evenly: each Ilithyia would receive three cakes of each set, and so would Apollo, Diana and Latona.

If we interpret the Games as a novel conceptualization of earlier Games, the question arises: Who benefited from this innovation? At the center of the Games stood Augustus, followed by Agrippa and the college of the Quindecimviri, all of whom may have financed parts of the Games in exchange for a considerable increase in prestige.[43] Equally important is the absence during the Games of the remaining priestly colleges, most notably those of the pontiffs and augurs. The significance of the Quindecimviri at this time is further highlighted by the fact that Agrippa, the second man in the state (he had married Augustus' daughter Iulia in 21 B.C. and Augustus had adopted their two sons shortly before or after the Games in 17 B.C.), was not a member of either the pontifical or the augural college (though Augustus himself was).[44] If we assume that the Games were meant as an event embracing all citizens of Rome and reaching out to the Greek world, this absence of the two most traditional Roman priestly colleges is even more striking. We may speculate about the reasons of this shift of power, but the identity of its beneficiaries, i.e. the new 'Augustan' élite, is beyond doubt.

2. *Carmen Saeculare*

The Sibylline oracle, which commanded the organization of the Games, also prescribed the performance of Latin 'paians' to be sung by two choirs of young boys and girls.[45] The Latin sources turn these 'paians' into the 'transgeneric' term *carmen*.[46]

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[43] For the funding of the Games, Cavallaro 1984, 150–160.

[44] *FS* II 1375 n. 2.

[45] Phlegon *FGrHist* 257 F 37, there ll. 18–20 = Zos. 2.6. For the *Carmen Saeculare* in general see G. Radke in: *EO* I (1997), 300–303 with extensive bibliography, also Putnam 2000.

[46] *Acta* C 147–149 [Schnegg-Köhler]; Hor. *carm. saec.* 8. The word *paean* was available in Latin at least since Cicero, cf. Cic. *de orat.* 1.251, 3.191 al. For the 'transgeneric' nature of the term *carmen* see Putnam 2000, 136–139.

The attempt to define the genre of 'paian' is of some interest, because here the difference between the philological and the conceptual approach becomes strikingly clear. Philologists have sought to answer the question of the concept underlying the word 'paian' by reviewing and interpreting relevant passages in which the word 'paian' and its derivates occur, thus trying to elicit from the material specific 'meanings' of the word. These 'meanings' were then tentatively related to specific concepts such as period, function, formal elements, addressees etc., in order to find a common denominator between these 'meanings'. However, the philological analysis failed to solve the dilemma between the normative nature of the word 'paian' (as the basis of the philological approach), and the constant and unpredictable flux of what it denotes according to context, i.e. concepts. To illustrate only the most conspicuous aspect of this dilemma, most 'paians'—including the *Carmen Saeculare*—were addressed to Apollo, but some, such as the 'paian' invoking Poseidon after an earthquake according to Xenophon (beginning of the fourth century B.C.),[47] were clearly not.[48] Or consider this: almost all early 'paians' included the invocation *iê* or *paian* or a dialect variant of these, but some again, such as the 'paian' of Ariphron to Hygieia (around 400 B.C.), clearly did not.[49] To solve this dilemma, there has been an extensive and, I fear, futile discussion of the genre 'paian'. As long as concepts are considered to be static entities in some sense, so that they can be adequately rendered by language, this approach will not lead to lasting results.

In marked opposition to the philological approach, the conceptual approach does not start from language, but from concepts. In other words, it rejects the idea of common denominators of 'meanings' that can be elicited from a specific selection of texts on the basis of the appearance of a shared word such as 'paian'. It is not concerned with the rather arbitrary relation between language and concept, but with the relation between different concepts, or more specifically, with the constant *process* of forming new concepts from other, constituent concepts. The most it assumes about language is that every time the same word is used in a different context, this process is actually repeated,

[47] Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.4.
[48] Käppel 1992, 43–65; Schröder 1999, 10–49, esp. 32f.
[49] Käppel 1992, 65–70; Schröder 1999, 50–61, esp. 51–53.

i.e. employment of the same words actually implies the formation of a similar concept out of similar constituent concepts. While the philological analysis has to interpret a 'paian' to, say, Poseidon—or, to take another rarity, a 'paian' without the constituent invocations *iê* or *paian*—as exceptional and ultimately inexplicable, the conceptual approach considers such changes as inevitable and part and parcel of the dynamic process of the formation of concepts. While the philological analysis looks for fixed and common concepts under the blanket of language and speaks, where it encounters inconsistencies, of exceptions, the conceptual approach operates on the premise that concepts are *never* stable, but are shifting according to their (equally shifting) contextual environment. It interprets the world as a conceptual continuum in flux which is unduly broken up by language into smaller fragments, while the philological analysis actually presupposes that the conceptual world underlying language is itself fragmented, and that language reflects this fragmentation adequately.

After these considerations about the 'genre' of Horace's song, let me now examine the concepts of divinity which it contains. Apparently, the song is dedicated to a number of such divine concepts, some of which were intrinsically relevant to the Secular Games. Normally, the poet does not give only a name to a concept he has in mind. Following the age-old tradition of cult poetry, he also supplies short characterizations. These characterizations can be best analyzed as references to specific conceptual foci of the six constituent concepts of divine entities.

In addition to that, I will examine the question of what led Horace to select these conceptual foci, rather than others, in order to characterize the 'gods' in question. I will work on the premise that the poet was normally driven by two criteria, namely tradition and function. By tradition, I mean the fact that a large number of characterizing concepts were actually employed because they were required or suggested by the traditional genre of 'paians', but were unrelated to the actual occasion of the performance of Horace's hymn in 17 B.C. Here it is important to note that the literary genre of 'paian' is itself a concept formed from a number of oscillating constituent concepts, which include stereotyped conceptual foci in order to characterize 'divine concepts'. The concept of 'paian' was constantly modified and developed in various directions. By function, I mean the fact that some characteristics which Horace singles out as worth mentioning serve a specific function within the cultic context, in which the 'paian' was performed on this

particular occasion in 17 B.C. Normally, the criterion of function is modelled on the criterion of tradition, in the sense that Horace will choose or develop specific traditional characteristics that relate to the circumstances in which the poem was performed. I will highlight a few aspects of the *Carmen Saeculare*, without any claim to completeness.

To begin with the first constituent concept of this book, space, it is only of secondary importance to characterizing a divine concept in Horace's poem. Its mention is either self-evident or due to a sense of Romanity in general. For instance, the Roman Lares appear as transferred from Ilion/Troy to Rome,[50] and the Roman pantheon is summarized as the gods 'who look with favour on the seven hills.'[51] Such platitudes can be easily assigned to the general stock-in-trade category of the concept of 'Romanity', employed thus by all Roman poets. More telling is the case of Apollo and Diana. Both deities are characterized by important spatial foci, the Palatine temple of Apollo, the Aventine temple of Diana, and her sacred precinct on Mount Algidus.[52] The proceedings relate that Horace's hymn was performed in front of the Palatine temple (and on the Capitol), and that it was there that sacrifices were offered to both Apollo and his sister.[53] Therefore, the mention of the Palatine temple as a spatial focus of Apollo is due to the specific context of the hymn, i.e. its function in the context of the Games. By contrast, the mention of the Aventine sanctuary and of the sacred precinct on Mount Algidus is either due to hymnic tradition or formed on the principal of similarity, following the reference to the Palatine as the spatial focus of Apollo.[54] For as far as we can glean from the proceedings, the Aventine sanctuary of Diana did not play any role in the performances of the Games, still less her precinct on Mount Algidus.[55]

Similarly, the temporal foci are not dominant as characterizations of divine concepts in the poem. We should mention that Ilithyia is invoked as the guarantor of the 110 years cycle of the *saeculum*.[56] This

[50] Vv. 37–44.
[51] V. 7.
[52] Vv. 65, 69.
[53] *Acta* C 139–146 [Schnegg-Köhler].
[54] For tradition cf. Hor. *carm.* 1.21 and Catul. 34.
[55] *Acta* C 9f. may refer to the Aventine temple, if Mommsen's conjecture *aed[em Iovis et in Aventino ante D]ianae* is correct, but Schnegg-Köhler 2002, 55f. (who prints another text) is rightly sceptical.
[56] Vv. 21–24.

reference is clearly connected with the context of the actual Games, for here Ilithyia (singular) or Ilithyiae (plural) are invoked and receive sacrificial cakes on the second night.[57] The sacrifice to Ilithyiae (plural) had already been required by the Sibylline oracle prior to the celebrations. The actual Games thus followed faithfully the injunctions of the oracle, and Horace followed suit, mentioning duly Ilithyia (singular) in his 'paian'. However, the poet was confronted with the problem of characterization. For Ilithyia(e) were foreign to the Roman pantheon, without any traditional spatial, temporal or other conceptual foci of their own. Horace solved the problem by creating such foci. As a temporal focus, he chose the Games themselves.

Ritual foci are referred to only once in the hymn, for a good reason. Ritual foci such as sacrifices are normally rather unspecific; in their ordinariness, they are rather uninviting and unpromising to any poetic endeavour. Accordingly, when Horace mentions the sacrifice of white bovines (vv. 49f.), he is unlikely to be interested primarily in the actual sacrificial animals. Rather, he has something else in mind. Before the discovery of the proceedings of the Games, scholars used to refer this bovine sacrifice to Apollo and Diana, but the proceedings show, as their first editor Mommsen with his unrivalled perspicacity immediately saw, that the only gods to whom white bovines could be conceivably sacrificed during the Games were actually Iuppiter and Iuno (Apollo and Diana received cake sacrifices instead, according to the proceedings). The omission of the names of Iuppiter and Iuno is all the more astonishing, when we consider that these two divine concepts happen to be the most significant divine concepts of the official Roman pantheon.[58] Apparently, the specific ritual foci of Iuppiter and Iuno here replaced the divine concepts themselves, a striking case of *pars pro toto* in conceptual terms: the dominant concept is substituted for one of its constituent concepts, i.e. in our case the concept of a characteristic ritual.

This brings us to the last and by far most important form of characterization of divine concepts in Horace's 'paian,' or any cult song for that matter, i.e. functional foci. For instance, Diana is said to be 'queen of the woods' and is identified with the moon,[59] the Parcae are

[57] Paradoxically, both forms appear in the proceedings, cf. *Acta* C 115–118 [Schnegg-Köhler].

[58] Mommsen 1891a, 602; id. 1891b, 357f., followed by virtually all interpreters.

[59] Vv. 1f., cf. 69.

characterized as unfailingly telling the truth,[60] Ceres is 'fertile in crops and livestock',[61] and Apollo occurs as both a healing and oracular god as well as the god of fine art.[62] Deities formed from Latin appellatives, such as Fides, Pax, Honos and Pudor and Virtus, suggest by their very meaning specific functional foci.[63] Most of these characterizations are motivated by tradition, without any immediate function in the specific cultic context of the Games. But the characterizations of Diana and Ilithyia are remarkable.

While the functional foci of her counterpart Apollo are marshalled in elaborate detail, encompassing all his major competences,[64] Diana is described as protectress of forests and divine emanation of the moon.[65] This is hymnic etiquette,[66] but disturbingly irrelevant to her existence in the city and meagre in terms of functional focalization, given that in Horace's hymn she features on a par with Apollo.

This observation leads us to the question of Diana's functional position within the Games.[67] She is the only deity of those receiving a sacrifice during the Games that is *not* mentioned or hinted at in the Sibylline oracle. Besides this, she receives a sacrifice only as parhedros of Apollo in the latter's Palatine temple.[68] Then, all of a sudden, she is raised to paramount importance by Horace in his poem, as is made crystal clear by the opening of the hymn: "Phoebus and Diana, Queen of the Woods, radiant glory of the heavens." Her dazzling appearance here cannot be explained either by a particular popularity or by a fondness for her on the part of Augustus himself (in marked contrast to her divine brother). Rather, it is due to the necessity for balance between the male and female elements within the hymn, in order to ensure offspring and well-being. The point was not kinship relation (for in that case Latona too would have been mentioned), but a deliberate and delicate balance between the sexes, expressed by brother and sister. As such, the dichotomy Apollo/Diana is parallelled by the dichotomy of 27 male and 27 female choir singers. But while a number of Apollo's

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[60] Vv. 25–28.
[61] Vv. 29f.
[62] Vv. 33, 61–64.
[63] Vv. 57–60, cf. Putnam 2000, 83–85 for a detailed analysis of these deities.
[64] Putnam 2000, 86–91.
[65] Hor. *carm. saec.* 1f., 35f., 69f.
[66] Hor. *carm.* 3.22.1; Catull. 34.9.
[67] For Diana in general in Horace cf. S. Rocca in: *EO* II (1997), 353f.
[68] *Acta* C 139–148 [Schnegg-Köhler]; see the previous chapter III.1.

traditional competences could be successfully recruited by Horace for his hymn, Diana's competences, with the sole exception of fertility, were dauntingly unrelated to the occasion of the Games. For the sake of balance, Horace made her equal to Apollo, whereas in fact she stood behind him both during the Games (during which Apollo's Palatine Temple was the centre) and in Augustan ideology in general.

As to Ilithyia, her exclusive Greekness posed the problem how to characterize her in Roman terms; Horace chose the easy way by following the Greek precedent and establishing fertility and child-bearing as her functional foci. He did so by adopting the singular Ilithyia and explicitly identifying the goddess with Lucina, i.e. a form of Diana and/or Iuno with similar competences.[69]

Putnam and others have claimed that Ilithyia in Horace *is* actually Diana,[70] on the basis of the very similar functional foci and the epithet *Lucina* as characteristic of Diana. This view is mistaken. Ilithyia is assimilated by Horace not only to Diana, but also to Iuno (who not uncommonly appears as *Lucina* and was herself the major goddess of childbirth, more important in Rome in this function than Diana). However, she is not to be identified with either goddess, since all three deities appear during the Games as clearly distinct entities, each receiving a separate sacrifice and prayer.[71] More specifically, as I have shown in the previous section, Ilithyia is clearly marked as belonging to the cycle of *Greek* deities, since she is worshipped at night outside the *pomerium*, in the 'Greek' Tarentum, in contrast to both Iuno and Diana who are conceptualized as Roman and are worshipped inside the *pomerium* by day. By forcibly assimilating Ilithyia to Iuno and to a lesser extent to Diana, Horace attempted to create a convincing framework of functional foci for the otherwise purely Greek goddess Ilithyia, not a quite unnecessary and confusing extension of the competences of Diana. The fact that Horace is creating new functional foci for Ilithyia is also illuminated by the second attribute by which the goddess is characterized: *genitalis*.[72] The latter is as transparent in meaning as it is exceptional in its employment as a divine epithet. It serves to express accurately both the particular functional focus and its novelty.

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[69] Vv. 13–16.
[70] Putnam 2000, 61f.
[71] *Acta* C 115–118 (Ilithyia), 119–131 (Iuno), 139–146 (Diana) [Schnegg-Köhler].
[72] V. 16.

If we want to characterize the relation between Horace's hymn and the actual Games as far as divine concepts are concerned, it is fair to say that Horace does everything in his power to blur the fundamental dichotomies as expressed by the Games and to transform them into a.) Roman features and b.) homogeneous praise of Apollo and Diana. He employs various devices to achieve his goals: 1. the complete change of order of appearances of the gods and the omission of direct references to Iuppiter and Iuno; 2. the omission of all references to dichotomies (day/night, Greek/Roman, black/white, extra-/intrapomerial); 3. the transformation of Moerae into Parcae and Terra Mater into Tellus; 4. the functional assimilation of Ilithyia to Iuno *and* Diana.

It must be immediately stressed that it is not helpful to condemn the poet (with Mommsen) for not rendering the message of the Games, when Horace's ambition is actually to transform this message.[73] Nor is it useful to state (with Fraenkel and Putnam) that Horace made use of his poetic freedom and said what he said as well as possible, and without much reference to what had already been 'said' by Capito in the preceding celebrations.[74] Even in his rejection of certain concepts, Horace was dependent on Capito's (and by extension Augustus') plan throughout; he was deliberately interpreting, i.e. translating, the meaning of the Games. And like many an ambitious translator, he avoided the employment of foreign concepts by smoothing out inconsistencies and redressing balances where he saw fit. As a result, his 'translation' was much more Roman and homogeneous than the 'original'. But it was still a 'translation,' for better or worse.

[73] Mommsen 1891b, 356–358.

[74] Fraenkel 1957, 380–382, for instance 380: "Horace's song had its being solely in the sphere of poetry, and the only links which connected it with the cult were links of thought"; also Putnam 2000, 130–150, for instance 144: "He (scil. Horace) is exerting a poet's power not only to imagine what the Roman polis should be but to bring that vision into being by means of his originality, whether in the poem's grand sweep or in the emphases of bright detail".

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCEPTS AND SOCIETY

So far, I have analyzed the Roman pantheon as a self-contained, artificial system of concepts. But these concepts were the product of humans, and humans are social beings. It is at this point that Roman society comes into play. It is important to remember here that Roman society or societal groups, or any society for that matter, selects only a very limited number of concepts as constituent of its value system and as embodying societal *raison*. Those foci not selected are automatically labeled as nonsensical or 'foreign' in societal terms. For instance, according to conventional Roman selection it was 'unreasonable' for women to vote, to be invested with political power, or to go to war. This does not mean that the Romans could not theoretically conceive of the position of women in these ways, but societal pressure would prevent such a choice of alternative concepts from being put into practice.

Roman religion was not independent of society. John Scheid has aptly remarked: "There was in fact no such thing as 'Roman Religion', only a series of Roman religions, as many Roman religions as there were social groups."[1] Defining social groups, however, is not always an easy task, especially in the Roman society of the imperial period, in which freedmen might overrule consuls and slaves turn into patricians, if backed by imperial support. Furthermore, a religious performant, though belonging to a specific social group in the broad sense, might conceptualize divine concepts differently according to the social sub-group in which he acted. These sub-groups were determined, for instance, by age, sex, descent, place of residence, profession, etc.[2] Therefore, our categories have to be necessarily broad, acknowledging social differences but allowing for exceptions.

I divide the material into three parts: In the first section, I will deal with the Roman élite, first with the senatorial and then the equestrian order, and finally with the emperor. The second part will turn to the

[1] Scheid 2003a, 19.
[2] Cf. Cancik 2007, 31f.

rest of Roman society. The third part is devoted to the role of women in conceptualizing Roman gods.

1. *The Élite*

We begin with the senatorial order in the early Republic. It is important to note that this group was the least inclined to any form of negotiation of power in an attempt to defend the *status quo* of its own privileges against those who had less power or none. This group, then, was unremittingly on the defensive against the other societal groups with regard to the preservation of existing divine concepts and their conceptual foci. Transformations of divine concepts were likely to be promoted from its side only as a result of competition among its own ranks.

Many patrician *gentes* controlled some or all conceptual foci of a specific cult on a private level.[3] Festus, relying on Labeo Antistius, differentiates between public rites open to all Roman citizens and family rituals restricted to specific families.[4] Sacrifices of the *gens Claudia*[5] and *gens Fabia*[6] are on record. The latter are attested as providing personnel foci of the cult of Faunus in the case of the *luperci Fabiani*, alongside the *luperci Quinctiales*, representatives of the Quinctii.[7] The personnel foci of the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima until 312 B.C. were members of the Potitii and Pinarii.[8] A famous altar from Bovillae was dedicated by members of the *gens Iulia* to Vediovis Pater in the second century B.C., and the same *gens* may possibly have usurped a number of cultic foci of the cult of Venus even before Caesar, though evidence is rather scarce.[9] The latter case should alert us to the possibility that powerful *gentes* might project their alliance with a specific god on to the distant past for merely political reasons.

The family alliance with a specific god served social integration. One may remember that the *gentes* were not only linked to traditional deities, but also kept alive other, very specific family customs. For instance, the

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[3] For cults of the *gentes* cf. in general Smith 2006, 44–50.
[4] Fest. 298.22–25 [L] with Scheid 1990, 255f.
[5] Fest. 274.29–32 [L].
[6] Liv. 5.46.2, 5.52.3.
[7] Wissowa 1912, 559, for the short-lived *luperci Iulii*, established in 44 B.C. and abolished shortly after, see ibid.
[8] Liv. 1.7.12–14; 9.29.9.
[9] Weinstock 1971, 8–12 [Vediovis], 15–18 [Venus].

gens Servilia venerated a bronze coin.[10] Until Sulla, the dead of the *gens Cornelia* were not incinerated (as was normal among the Roman élite), but were buried unburned.[11] The Claudii, Aemilii, Iulii and Cornelii had their own 'holidays'.[12]

The disappearance of family cults in Rome in the middle and late Republic appears to have been due to the successful struggle of a part (not necessarily only the plebeian part) of the aristocracy against any form of power monopoly among their ranks, whether in the hands of an individual or of a specific societal group such as the *gens*. The evidence for this conflict is scarce, but Appius Claudius Caecus, who initiated the transfer of the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima from the custody of the *gens Potitia* and *gens Pinaria* to the state in 312 B.C., may have been one of its protagonists[13] Likewise, the identification of Quirinus with Romulus, presumably dating to the second and first centuries B.C., may result from the same struggle.[14] It is conceivable that the "renaming" of the god was initiated, apart from the priests of the god such as his *flamen* and the *Salii Collini*, by one or more *gentes* that had previously privileged Quirinus (Fabii) or Romulus (Memmii?) and grasped the opportunity to act, after Quirinus' gradual decline in the face of the ascent of Mars.[15]

Apart from specifically patrician family cults there may have been also plebeian cults. One may refer to the Lares Hostilii and the goddess Hostilina, both undoubtedly connected with the Hostilii, a plebeian *gens* (at least in the historical period).[16] The god Caeculus is clearly linked to the plebeian Caecilii.[17] A number of public spatial foci, especially

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[10] Plin. *nat.* 34.137.
[11] Cic. *leg.* 2.56f.; Plin. *nat.* 7.187.
[12] Macr. *sat.* 1.16.7.
[13] Liv. 9.29.9–11.
[14] See chapter I.3.
[15] The Fabii performed their family cult on the Quirinal (Liv. 5.46.2, 5.52.3 with Curti 2000, 85). The choice of Quirinus as their family god would hardly arise by chance. For in the heyday of family cults, perhaps from the seventh to the fifth centuries, Quirinus was no doubt a paramount god of both the hill and the Roman pantheon (if anything of that sort already existed) and the Fabii one of the most numerous and influential families by that time. Furthermore, a family-member, Q. Fabius Pictor, was the most important incumbent of the flaminate of Quirinus and was remembered as such by his descendants (see above chapter I.3). A second Fabius, Ser. Fabius Pictor, may have been his successor, *FS* 973f. no. 1600. For the relation of the Memmii to Romulus see Wissowa 1912, 155 n. 5.
[16] Lares Hostilii: Paul. Fest. 90.28f. [L], Hostilina: Radke 1965, 146.
[17] Radke 1965, 76f.

that of the Aventine triad, may go back to plebeian families, and the same may be true of certain ritual foci, most notably that of the *ludi plebei*.[18]

On an official plane, the initial monopoly of patrician families in controlling all important foci of public cults was broken by the Licinio-Sextian reforms of *ca.* 367 B.C., which guaranteed plebeian and patrician families equal access to the decemvirate, as well as by the Lex Ogulnia of *ca.* 300 B.C., which admitted plebeians into the two priestly colleges of pontiffs and augurs.[19] Only a few personnel foci, most notably the major flaminates (see below), remained the exclusive domain of the patricians for the whole duration of the Republican period. Eventually, this distinction became obsolete with the *lex Cassia* (46/45), which entitled the ruler to confer patrician status on plebeian families.

The most significant personnel foci of the official cults, the flaminates, remained strictly divided between patricians and plebeians in the Republic. Thus, the three major flaminates (of Iuppiter, Mars and Quirinus) were reserved for patricians and the minor flaminates for plebeians.[20] A most important point is that at an early stage, the patrician families showed a particular interest in certain (but not all) official cults. This predilection is all the more remarkable, in that the installation of the flaminate presumably predates the political emancipation of plebeian families. In other words, nothing would have prevented the patricians from claiming the later plebeian flaminates as well.

Not only the three major flaminates, but also the *rex sacrorum*, the two colleges of *Salii* (*Palatini/Collini*) and possibly (at least in the early Republic) the vestals were exclusively recruited from patrician families.[21] Two of the four institutions were closely connected to the Roman kings, the *rex sacrorum*, as he continued priestly duties of the king, and the vestals as former custodians of the royal hearth or as attached to the royal household in some other way.

However, it must be strongly emphasized that the monopoly of the most important priesthoods in the hands of the Republican élite in no way meant that its members always used to act in compliance with

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[18] North 1989, 620f.
[19] Smith 2006, 181.
[20] Vanggaard 1988, 46–55.
[21] Smith 2006, 260–263. Since the *rex sacrorum* was barred from other public magistracies, he never entered the senatorial order, and might even (at least in theory) have been excluded from the equestrian order too, see Scheid 1984, 262 with n. 59. For the vestals see C. Koch, in: *RE* 8A.2 (1958), col. 1744 and below in this chapter.

official cults. At most, this may be said with certainty of the senators (whose religious conduct was monitored by the censors). A warning not to generalize is provided by the Bacchan movement of 186 B.C.: its leaders and followers may have been aristocrats or at least belonged to the socially privileged.[22] The actual participation of the higher strata of Roman society would well explain the extraordinary attention the senate paid to the Bacchanalian affair.

In practice, during the whole period of the Middle and Late Roman Republic, the four major priesthoods (pontificate, augurate, decemvirate/quindecimvirate, *epulones*) were distributed among members of the Roman aristocracy who had already held important magistracies—or were prospective candidates.[23] As a rule, these priests never assumed more than a single priesthood, though some exceptions occur as a result of the Hannibalic wars, and perhaps earlier, although the evidence is scarce.[24] It was from the time of Caesar (who became both augur and pontifex, later *pontifex maximus*) and especially under the Empire with the precedent of the emperor himself (who was conventionally a member of all four major priesthoods), that the senatorial élite again began to accumulate official sacerdotal offices of all kinds.[25]

Despite the ban on the cumulation of sacerdotal offices by an individual, the distribution of priesthoods among the Republican aristocracy was far from even: three patrician families (Cornelii, Postumii, Valerii) supplied two thirds of all known *flamines maiores*. Of these, the Cornelii provided more than half of all known Jovian *flamines*.[26] While the major flaminates may have remained in the hands of a particular *gens* for successive generations, such a precedent cannot be asserted of the major Republican priesthoods in general.[27] In 104 B.C., a *lex Domitia* ruled

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[22] Liv. 39.17.6: *Capita… coniurationis constabat esse M. et C. Atinios de plebe Romana*. Members of the *gens Atinia* had repeatedly reached the praetorship in exactly the same period, e.g. in 195, 190 and 188 B.C., cf. Broughton I, 340, 356, 365, see also Liv. 39.13.14 for the participation of aristocrats in general (if *nobiles* is meant in that sense here). The anonymous mistress of Hispala Faecina may also have been of aristocratic descent (Liv. 39.10.5). See also North 2003, 213–215; Schultz 2006, 184 n. 151.

[23] For the distribution of priesthoods among former or prospective magistrates see Szemler 1972, 179–192.

[24] Wissowa 1912, 493 n. 2; Szemler 1972, 190f.; Szemler 1974.

[25] Schumacher 1978, 795–804; Gordon 1990b, 220f.

[26] Vanggaard 1988, 74f. For the Jovian connection of the Cornelii, the case of P. Cornelius Scipio is also instructive. It was rumoured that he was of Jovian offspring (like Alexander the Great) and that he used to consult with Iuppiter in his temple daily in private, Liv. 26.15.5–8; Gell. 6.1.2–4; Sil. Ital. 13.637–644.

[27] North 1990a, 531–535.

that no more than one member of a specific *gens* be admitted to each college at a time. Though rescinded by Sulla, this law was re-enacted in 63 B.C. (again, clearly reflecting a system of checks and balances among the ruling élite).[28]

Under the Republic, the major priesthoods were filled by men of the senatorial order. The two certain exceptions of 'new men', Marius and Cicero (who both became augurs), prove beyond doubt the social exclusivity of these four major sacerdotal offices. It was only under Caesar and his successors that this situation changed. From this point on, official priesthoods in general became an instrument at the hands of the emperor, to show his favour towards individuals or entire families.[29] There are clear indications that under the Empire, pontiffs and, to a lesser degree, augurs were co-opted from a relatively restricted circle of the senatorial élite, often in virtue of their political allegiance to the imperial family.[30] An analysis of the lists of the arvals appointed under the Julio-Claudians has shown that, under Augustus, almost all major senatorial families sent one, and only one representative. It also suggests that, for most of the Julio-Claudian period, sacerdotal seats were largely passed on from one generation to the next among these families (though on occasion among different family branches). This situation changed under Nero where, for the first time, we encounter two members of the same family simultaneously among the arvals. In his reign, the principle of inheritability may not have been abandoned, but it was restricted.[31] Meanwhile, other participants in the cult of Dea Dia, such as the boys whose parents were still alive (*pueri patrimi et matrimi*), were largely recruited from outside this circle.[32]

The foundation of spatial foci was a sign of prestige among the Republican élite. Religion offered a welcome opportunity to immortalize political action under the pretext of piety. This is born out by the vast majority of temples vowed by generals in the course of their campaigns. It was no coincidence that in his funeral inscription, L. Cornelius Scipio singled out, as worth mentioning, the erection of a temple to the 'Seasons' (*Tempestates*), vowed on the occasion of his war

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[28] North 1990a; Rüpke 2002, 45; *FS* III, 1636–1639, 1641f.
[29] Wiseman 1971, 169–173; Gordon 1990b, 221f.
[30] Scheid 1978, 632–637 [Julio-Claudian period]; Schumacher 1978, 773–775 [Flavian, Antonine and Severan period]; cf. *FS* III, 1587–1600.
[31] Scheid 1975, 321–331.
[32] Scheid 1990, 535f.

with Corsica in 259 B.C., and built close to the family tomb of the Scipiones.[33] And when the propraetor Q. Fulvius Flaccus promised a temple to Fortuna Equestris in the course of a fierce cavalry engagement with the Celtiberians in 180 B.C. (dedicated by him in 173), he was scarcely motivated by the desire to remedy the lack of a cavalry deity in the Roman pantheon.[34] In the same vein, Q. Lutatius Catulus vowed a temple to Fortuna Huiusque Diei during the decisive battle against the Cimbri at Vercellae in 101 B.C. By its very nature, this hypostasis of Fortuna was bound to connote specific historical circumstances (i.e. *hic dies*). It therefore does not come as a surprise that it was dedicated on 30 July, the anniversary of Catulus' victory.[35] The fact that later writers refer to the resulting temple as *aedes/monumentum Catuli*[36] illustrates without doubt the success of Catullus' act of propaganda.[37]

It was not only individuals, but whole families that exploited the creation of spatial foci of cults for self-representational ends. Catullus' sanctuary, for instance, is identified with Temple B in the sacred area of Largo Argentina, while next to it (scholars differ as to whether temple A or C) the temple of Iuturna had already been dedicated by a member of the same family more than a century earlier.[38] A further example is that of L. Cornelius Scipio, who erected the temple of the Tempestates close to the family tomb of the Scipiones and as a reminder of his own deeds in maritime warfare.[39] When M'. Acilius Glabrio consecrated a temple in 181 B.C. which had been vowed by his father ten years earlier, he promoted his family link by means of an inscription and a gilded bronze statue of his father on horseback, the first of its kind in Rome.[40]

Alongside spatial foci, the élite controlled all kinds of temporal foci in the public arena. This control was due not only to its occupation of the major priesthoods, but also to its exclusive representation in the senate. This institution was free to endorse or to reject virtually any establishment of spatial and temporal foci of divine concepts, most

[33] *CIL* VI 1287; Ziolkowski 1992, 163, 218, 292; id., in: *LTUR* V (1999), 26f.
[34] Liv. 40.40.10; 40.44.9; 42.10.5; F. Coarelli, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 268f.
[35] P. Gros, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 269f.
[36] Cato *agr.* 3.5.12; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.126.
[37] For the broader historical context of the monument in its relation to Marius see Clark 2007, 128–131.
[38] Ziolkowski 1986; P. Gros, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 269.
[39] *CIL* VI 1287; Ziolkowski 1992, 163, 218, 292; id., in: *LTUR* V (1999), 26f.
[40] E. Papi, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 224.

notably processions and public Games. The latter became increasingly a venue for public self-representation of ambitious members of the élite, who normally covered the expenses out of their own private funds.[41]

The expansion of the Roman pantheon by means of the creation of new spatial foci might more often than not disguise the self-representation of ambitious politician-generals or their families. Indeed, the nature of the deity chosen might have been a secondary consideration. This is clear in the case of M. Atilius Regulus, who vowed a temple to Pales on his campaign against the Sallentini in 267. Strangely, though, Pales, despite her venerable age, had no apparent connection to war. What mattered was not the goddess, but the occasion and the name of the founder of her temple, which was handed down by tradition in due course.[42] A member of either the Metelli or the Aemilii (reading uncertain) vowed and dedicated a temple to an otherwise unknown god, Alburnus. Apparently this act of self-display, under the disguise of an otherwise completely unknown god, gave rise to strong feelings, for the senate responded by passing a law, according to which no temple vowed in war should be dedicated before it was endorsed by the senate.[43] It was a natural step in the history of self-display of the élite when Caesar vowed a temple to Venus Genetrix before the battle at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. Unlike its inspiration, the sanctuary of Venus Victrix dedicated by Pompeius four years earlier,[44] Caesar's temple did not serve to commemorate a specific historic event, but to honour the divine ancestress of the leading statesman of the day (hence the epithet *genetrix*).[45] Caesar's initiative implied a shift of emphasis from the commemoration of individual success to that of successful individuals.

In terms of conceptualizing Roman gods (as in other areas), the Roman senate throughout its history remained conservative and suspicious of innovations. This conservatism was due to a need felt by the socially privileged to legitimize their status by traditional divine concepts, a form of conservatism famously labeled 'theodicy of good fortune' by Weber in 1920.[46] A few years later, the famous sociologist summarized his earlier views: "What the privileged classes require of

[41] Bernstein 2007, 227–234.
[42] J. Aronen, in: *LTUR* IV (1999), 50f.
[43] Varro *antiq.* fr. 44 [Cardauns].
[44] P. Gros, in: *LTUR* V (1999), 120f., cf. Clark 2007, 225–229.
[45] P. Gros, in: *LTUR* II (1995), 306f.; Bernstein 1998, 330–335.
[46] Weber 1920, 242.

religion, if anything at all, is this legitimation."[47] 'Theodicy of good fortune' was clearly the reason why senators were among the last to embrace Christianity (only from Commodus onwards)[48] and why no evidence has yet been found on Italian soil of senators practising the rites of Mithras before the fourth century A.D.[49]

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In terms of religious attitude, equestrian families differed little from their senatorial counterparts. Cicero spoke of the "sacred rites" of his ancestors at Arpinum, which certainly included the worship of one or more deities favored by the family.[50] One may point to the god Visidianus, belonging perhaps to the Visidii, who (in Rome at least) appear as an equestrian family.[51] Furthermore, one may refer to Bona Dea Annianensis, who figures on a Roman inscription and can only with difficulty be dissociated from the Annii, another equestrian family.[52] The same is true of the *Octavii* and the cult of Mars at Velitrae (some 30 kilometers south-east of Rome), as attested by Suetonius.[53] When Augustus erected a temple to Mars Ultor in the centre of his new Forum Augustum, he also had in mind (apart from the obvious reference to Actium) his family affiliations with the god. He thus imitated Caesar's sanctuary of Venus Genetrix in his Forum Iulium with its unmistakable reference to the 'Iulian' *gens*.[54] It is conceivable that such identifications of specific gods with specific families were more widespread among equestrian families than the extant evidence might suggest. Apart from socialization and divine attention, such an identification would naturally assimilate the appearance of the equestrian families to that of their aristocratic counterparts.

Meanwhile, in the imperial period, some official priesthoods, such as the minor flaminates, minor pontificates, the *curiones* and others, were reserved in practice to members of the equestrian order, presumably

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[47] Weber, *Economy*, 491.
[48] Lampe 1989, 94–103, 296.
[49] Clauss 1992, 16–31 [Rome], 264 [senatorial worship in the Empire].
[50] Cic. *leg.* 2.3: *hic enim orti stirpe antiquissima sumus, hic sacra, hic genus, hic maiorum multa vestigia.*
[51] Radke 1965, 341.
[52] *CIL* VI 69 = *ILS* 3511.
[53] Suet. *Aug.* 1.1. But the only reliable information in Suetonius' confused account is Augustus' equestrian birth (ibid. 2.3).
[54] Cf. Weinstock 1971, 84f.

after the reorganization of the order by Augustus.[55] Generally speaking, the two highest orders were remarkably similar in their religious demeanour: both groups might favour certain gods according to family traditions and expediencies, and they eventually managed to secure the vast majority of official priesthoods almost exclusively for their members.

* * *

A special case among the Roman élite was that of the emperor. His presence on all levels of religious decision-making was particularly palpable. Caesar had already begun the cumulation of priesthoods by combining the highest pontificate with the augurate, and from Augustus onwards, all emperors were members of the four major priestly colleges, apart from minor official priesthoods (e.g. the *Fetiales*, *Arvales*, *Augustales*).[56] Most important was, of course, the emperor's position as *pontifex maximus*, which gave him *de facto* all-encompassing religious powers in Rome as well as throughout the Empire.[57] The emperor thus controlled, even if only potentially, all religious decision-making, although he was much less interested in actual cult performance. This observation explains why emperors did not normally participate in regular sacerdotal meetings (there appears to be no evidence for such a direct participation of the emperor after 204 A.D.)[58] and suggests a reason why, after Caesar, no emperor was interested in holding mere executive priesthoods, such as that of the Jovian flaminate.[59]

The emperor's choices of gods among the pantheon were dictated primarily by two parameters, political expediency and personal predilection. Down-to-earth characters such as Augustus, Vespasian or Trajan would automatically act on the former, more lofty spirits such as Caligula, Domitian or most impressively Elagabal, would be drawn to the latter. For instance, the marked promotion of Apollo under Augustus had a political aspect (the battle at Actium) and a cultural aspect (Greek culture). Alternatively, one may point to the cult of Mars Ultor, established by Augustus, and with its political character already manifest in his name. At the other end of the scale we find Caligula

[55] Scheid 1984, 248f.; Scheid/Cecere 1999, 79–96 and below in this chapter.
[56] Stepper 2003, *passim*; *FS* III, 1601–1616.
[57] Stepper 2003, 228–249, esp. 242–249.
[58] *FS* III, 1606.
[59] For Caesar's flaminate see *FS* III, 1574–1579.

who likened himself to Iuppiter, Domitian with his private faible for Minerva, or Elagabal who unsuccessfully tried to make Rome a theocracy under a non-Roman god.

It is important to note that any imperial choice of a specific cult, however remote from Roman custom, was an *official* choice. It served as a precedent, which entailed for the subjects both the right and the obligation to participate. One may again consider Mars Ultor, the Augustan divine concept *par excellence* (along with the Palatine Apollo). His temple had been erected by the princeps on *private* ground and with *private* funds (spoils of war). Despite its undoubtedly private character, it soon became one of the major foci of the Augustan *public* cult.[60] Interestingly, in the long run Roman society after Augustus demonstrated an almost complete indifference towards imperial predilections. For no such predilection left long-term traces in the historical record of the city after the emperor's death.

2. *The Underprivileged*

The lower strata of Roman society were virtually excluded from all official priesthoods. Towards the end of the first century B.C., when we find freedmen such as A. Castricius, son of a foreigner, or Clesipus Geganius, a freedman or freedman's descendant, as personnel foci of one or even more than one official cult, they certainly had powerful patrons and considerable financial resources.[61] At most, the lower strata would normally become auxiliary personnel in public institutions including priesthoods (*apparitores*), and as such, hold certain provincial priesthoods.[62] Meanwhile, freedmen and women are attested in Rome as priests of Bona Dea,[63] Isis,[64] Cybele,[65] Mithras,[66] or unspecified gods,[67]

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[60] See August *res gestae* 4.21f.: *in privato solo Martis Ultoris templum [f]orumque Augustum [ex mani]biis feci*; with Herz 1996 and chapter I.6.

[61] *CIL* I² 1004 = *ILLRP* 696; *CIL* XIV 2105 = *ILS* 2676; Treggiari 1969, 195–197; Scheid / Cerere 1999, 84f.; cf. Bendlin 2002, 28f.

[62] Purcell 1983, 167–170.

[63] *CIL* VI 2236, 2240 = Brouwer 1989, 36f. [no. 25]; 47 [no. 36]; also *IG* XIV 1449 = Brouwer 1989, 40–43 [no. 31].

[64] *CIL* VI 2281 [with Henzen's note on the term *sacrorum* in the middle of the same page].

[65] *CIL* VI 2260.

[66] *CIL* VI 2271 = *ILS* 4270.

[67] *CIL* VI 2287, 2288, 2292.

and certainly many more. But such priesthoods would largely, if not exclusively, be of an unofficial nature.

There are indications that some official gods were favoured by the lower strata, but the evidence is too arbitrary, scanty and biased (with the privileged classes much more likely than the underprivileged to document their beliefs in inscriptions or literary evidence) to draw any firm conclusions.[68] Apart from official gods, the lower strata may have favoured a number of unofficial gods, for example Silvanus.[69] The god did not have a place in the official calendar, nor an official priest or sanctuary in Rome. He is depicted on official monuments or coins no earlier than the beginning of the second century A.D.,[70] despite his apparent popularity in the lower strata of predominantly male Roman society.[71] Nevertheless, there are a few examples of the worship of the god by freemen, and even by members of the senatorial élite.[72]

The socially underprivileged were not only attracted to exotic rites. Magic, in all its forms, was popular among the lower strata of society (while the more educated may have preferred to turn to philosophy or to choose a disguised agnosticism). But members of the senatorial order and even members of the old patriciate also took a keen interest on occasion.[73] Free Roman citizens, perhaps recruiting their leaders from noble families, participated in the exotic rites of Bacchus in 186 B.C.[74] Laws were directed against participation of Roman citizens in the cult of Magna Mater; clearly an indication that such laws were deemed necessary due to the potential interest among the free population.[75] From the moment of her arrival in Rome, Isis, while still an

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[68] For Fortuna as favoured by the underprivileged see Bömer 1981, 140–153; for Bona Dea, Bömer 1981, 154–160; Brouwer 1989, 254–296.

[69] Dorcey 1989, 178–184, 211–243; cf. also Bömer 1981, 78–87.

[70] Dorcey 1989, 192f.

[71] For the restriction of women see Dorcey 1989, 220–228.

[72] Dorcey 1989, 182; 215–218.

[73] Dickie 2001, 168–175.

[74] Liv. 39.8.7: *stupra promiscua ingenuorum feminarumque erant*. Also, the mistress of the courtesan Hispala Faecina was a freewoman and possibly even of aristocratic birth. Hispala herself claimed never to have visited the shrine of Bacchus after receiving her freedom (Liv. 39.9.5 [*libertina*], 39.10.5, 39.12.6). *Matronae* too are mentioned as followers of the cult (Liv. 39.13.12). Peculiarly interesting is the absence of slaves in Livy. For he would certainly not have failed to mention them, given his contemptuous attitude. In addition, the Tiriolo decree also suggests the participation of freemen, cf. *CIL* I^2 581.7.

[75] See also chapter II.1, with Bömer 1963, 19–45 [stressing the importance of the underprivileged element in the worship of the goddess from the Augustan period onwards].

unofficial and suspicious deity, was worshipped by freedmen and Roman citizens—clients of major aristocratic families—alike.[76] In 19 A.D., the cult was considered so dangerous by Tiberius that he deported 4,000 of its adherents (along with Jews) to Sardinia. Tacitus reports that all the deportees were freedmen.[77] The relative absence of the unfree part of the population in inscriptions related to the cult of Isis is clearly due to the notorious financial straits of this stratum. But this absence is deceptive. The considerable number of freedmen among the Isiacs indirectly proves the participation of unfree persons in the cult, for one would not suddenly be drawn to Isis after being enfranchised.[78] Some senators and knights may be counted among worshippers of the Egyptian gods, though it must be admitted that these cases appear to be relatively rare, even in the heyday of the cult of Isis in the second and third centuries A.D.[79] The Dolichene Iuppiter, though certainly most popular among the underprivileged, especially the lower ranks of the army, nevertheless counted a consul among his adherents.[80] Even Mithraism, despite its clear popularity among the lower strata, never became *characteristic* of the underprivileged.[81]

It is natural to assume that a master or patron influenced the religious behaviour of his servants or clients. As long as master and servants lived in the same household (as certainly they did in rural areas), the religious choices of the master are likely to have had considerable impact on his servile environment. There is, however, evidence for such impact beyond the boundaries of rural households. For instance, we possess a remarkable Republican dedicatory inscription to Fors Fortuna from the vicinity of Rome, set up by a professional corporation. Among the corporate members are mentioned a slave and a freedman of the *gens Carvilia*. What is remarkable is the fact that a consul of the same Carvilii is known to have dedicated a temple of Fors Fortuna in Rome in 293 B.C.[82] Another case in point is that of a freedwoman of Livia, Augustus' wife, Philematio by name, who was priestess of Bona Dea.

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[76] *CIL* I² 1263 = *CIL* VI 2247 = *ILS* 4405 = *SIRIS* 377 = Malaise 1972, 112 [no. 2] with Malaise 1972a, 78; Takács 1995, 51–56.

[77] Tac. *ann.* 2.85.5.

[78] Malaise 1972a, 89–91.

[79] Malaise 1972a, 78–80, cf. ibid. 85–88.

[80] *CIL* X 1575 = *CCID* 297f. [no. 461] with Merlat 1960, 25–28.

[81] Bömer 1981, 168–172; Clauss 1992, 261–279, for urban Rome ibid. 31. Commodus is said to have participated in the cult (SHA *Comm.* 9.6).

[82] *CIL* I² 977 with Liv. 10.46.14; Bömer 1981, 147, 149; Clark 2007, 196.

Ovid attests to the close connection of Livia with the same goddess, whose Aventine temple the empress restored.[83]

Corporations (*collegia*), apart from their profane business, were involved in the regular worship of various gods, whether for protection of their economic interests or for other expediencies.[84] The exact nature of many of these corporations is unclear, but the fact that they gathered around one or more deities clearly shows that they operated *inter alia* as corporate forms of personnel foci of private cults, whatever their actual *raison d'être*. An exceptionally clear example are the *Mercuriales*. Based in the Aventine temple of Mercury allegedly from the fifth century B.C. on, they clearly combined economic interests with worship of the god of commerce.[85] Some of these corporations, such as the Bacchants in 186 B.C., seem to have been exclusively concerned with the cult of one specific god.[86] The Bacchants were apparently also the first corporation against which the authorities intervened. Such interventions became more frequent from the middle of the first century B.C. onwards.[87]

Cult activities may normally have only been secondary to the corporations' initial purpose, being employed simply to create and reinforce a sentiment of 'community'.[88] It is likely that most corporations, especially those who had placed themselves under the protection of a specific deity (as shown by their name), normally focused on one cult. However, such a focus on the patron deity would not automatically exclude the worship of other gods. For example, we find in the capital a Mithraic priest (*pater*) as well as another priest (*sacerdos*) of Silvanus, apparently as representatives of religious corporations, dedicating an altar to Iuppiter Fulgerator after the instigation of the 'mountain gods' (*dei Montenses*).[89]

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[83] Ov. *fast.* 5.157f. with *CIL* VI 2240 and Brouwer 1989, 280.

[84] One may, for example, refer to the *collegium Aesculapi et Hygiae* (*CIL* VI 10234), the *collegium salutare Fortunae Reducis* (*CIL* VI 10251), or the collegium *Liberi Patris et Mercuri* (*CIL* VI 8826).

[85] Wissowa 1912, 305; for the Republican *collegia*, also Bendlin 2002, 28–31.

[86] For the collegiate character see North 2003, 211f.

[87] Cotter 1996.

[88] Rüpke 2002, 42.

[89] *CIL* VI 377.

All the gods of the pantheon, from the supreme Iuppiter Optimus Maximus[90] to the unofficial Silvanus,[91] could receive attention by corporate votaries. At the beginning of the imperial period, the underprivileged may have often been encouraged by the ruler himself to participate in the cultic activities of these corporations. The first ruler to encourage participation was apparently Augustus, who introduced worship of the Lares Augusti (and his *genius*?) in Rome in 8/7 B.C.: the officials in charge of this new cult were—like their Republican predecessors—freedmen (*vicomagistri*), and assisted by slaves (*vicoministri*).[92]

Both Jews and Christians tended to belong to the lower strata of Roman society during the period mentioned. The Jews were further marginalized topographically, because their quarters lay in Trastevere, outside the city walls.[93] By the first century A.D., many Jews had acquired Roman citizenship, while this does not appear to be the case for the majority of the Christians.[94] Weber thought that it was for its 'theodicy of bad fortune', that Christianity was initially restricted to the underprivileged strata of Roman society.[95] In fact, even if the question cannot be definitely settled, it is more likely than not that the first Christians in the city were unfree or peregrine, or both.[96] The next logical step was that Christianity attracted Roman freedmen.[97] It was via the latter and most of all via the highly ambitious (socially and economically) flexible imperial *liberti* that Christianity eventually conquered the remaining strata of Roman society.

3. *Women*

Where women are found in Republican sacerdotal establishments, their appearance is carefully monitored by male priests. For instance, their

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[90] *CIL* VI 384, 404 [to I.O.M. Caelestinus], 425 [to I.O.M. Salutaris]; 2819 with Waltzing I, 207; ibid. IV, 469–471.

[91] *CIL* VI 632, 641f., 4872 al. with Waltzing IV, 479f.; Dorcey 1989, 179 with 198 n. 23.

[92] Treggiari 1969, 198f.; Bömer 1981, 32–38; Kienast 1999, 127f., 195–198.

[93] Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 155.

[94] Lampe 1989, 65–67.

[95] Weber 1920, 240–245.

[96] Lampe 1989, 65–67, 135–164, 296f.; *contra* e.g. M.-Y. Perrin, in: Pietri 2003, 671f. n. 33.

[97] Lampe 1989, 296f. n. 678. For the importance of freedmen in the cults of other oriental religions see Treggiari 1969, 204–207 [late Republic]; Gordon 1990c, 246 [Empire].

most important representatives in terms of the official religion, the vestals, were answerable to the *pontifex maximus*, who wielded absolute power both in filling vacancies among their ranks and in administering disciplinary measures, including the death penalty.[98] When female priests of Isis are found in Rome due to an Egyptianization of the cult, they are restricted to the lower grades within the cult. There is no evidence of higher-ranking female priestesses.[99]

However, this does not mean that women were prevented from the official formation of divine concepts. Rather, they had their share through their personal influence and family relations, not by virtue of political power. An episode, the historicity of which (though not the historical plausibility) may be in doubt, illustrates effectively the mechanism behind such influence. At the beginning of the fifth century B.C. the appearance of Roman matrons, including his mother and wife, led Coriolanus to abandon his march on Rome. The senate showed its gratitude by granting the women a gift of their choice, on which the matrons voted for the erection of a temple to Fortuna Muliebris. The basic point of this story is that, due to a successful private initiative, Roman women brought about the establishment of an official cult from which only they themselves could reasonably benefit. Having said this, it is worth noting that their cult had still to be endorsed by the senate.[100] Furthermore, Livy's description of the *Bacchanalia* of 186 B.C. throws light on their involvement in religious decision-making at all levels of Roman society.[101] Finally, in the Republic, the vestals could on occasion successfully—though unofficially—intervene in Roman politics.[102] Besides this, women could satisfy their ambition in religious matters without further restrictions, by means of donations and all sorts of euergetism, in order to display social prestige and financial ease. In this, women hardly differed essentially from their male counterparts.[103]

As among men, initially patrician women held a dominant place in matters of state religion. Before the *lex Canuleia*, passed in the mid fifth century B.C., the wives of the major *flamines* (*flaminicae*) and of the *rex sacrorum* (*regina sacrorum*) had to be patricians like their husbands (after

[98] Cancik-Lindemaier 1996, 144–147.
[99] Malaise 1972a, 136f. with n. 6; Heyob 1975, 88–96.
[100] The main source for the temple is DH *ant.* 8.55–56; cf. also Liv. 2.40.1–12 with Schultz 2006, 37–44.
[101] Schultz 2006, 82–92.
[102] Cancik-Lindemaier 1996, 142.
[103] Schultz 2006, 57–61, 148–150; ead. 2007, 23–26.

that date, they could have plebeian status).[104] An episode (perhaps not historical, but historically plausible), recorded by Livy in 295 B.C., reveals that patrician women had their own cults (in this case that of Pudicitia Patricia), in which women of the plebeian aristocracy were not allowed to participate.[105] The vestals, for the most part of the Roman Republic, are likely to have belonged to the Roman aristocracy and originally to the patriciate only. However, in 5 A.D. Augustus had to admit daughters of freedmen, because of the lack of available candidates.[106]

It was not so much the worship of specific deities, but specific rituals, often connected with specific locations or sanctuaries, that were sex-related: for example, the nocturnal mysteries of Bona Dea were reserved for noble women and the vestals.[107] Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that men of all strata of society (especially the underprivileged) actually worshipped the goddess.[108] Similarly, the worship of Bacchus at the Aventine sanctuary at the beginning of the second century B.C. was at first restricted to women (*feminae*), who were initiated there three times a year. Before the cult was opened up to men, priestesses were free maried women (*matronae*).[109] However, men were not excluded in principle from the cult of Bacchus/Liber outsite this specific context, as is abundantly clear from the inscriptional material.[110] To female prerequisites one may add a number of official festivals, often connected with fertility and motherhood, which were largely performed by women, for instance the *Matronalia* dedicated to Iuno Lucina.[111] In no case, however, does the exclusion of men from such specific ceremonies indicate a principal debarment of men from the cults of the

[104] Vanggaard 1988, 50–55 [only for the *flaminicae*, but his argument holds true also of the *regina sacrorum*]; cf. Schultz 2006, 140f.

[105] Liv. 10.23.4–10 with Curti 2000, 86–88; Schultz 2006, 42f., 148; Clark 2007, 39–47.

[106] Antist. Labeo ap. Gell. 1.12.4f.; Dio 55.22.5; cf. C. Koch, *RE* 8A.2 (1958), col. 1744; Schultz 2007, 11f.

[107] Bouwer 1989, 254–256.

[108] For men from the senatorial order cf. *CIL* VI 65 [M. Vettius Bolanus, patrician, *cos. suff.* 66 A.D.], for the equestrian order, Cic. *Pro Mil.* 86 [T. Sertius Gallus, Bovillae, 52 B.C.], for freemen *CIL* VI 75 [C. Paetinus, pre-Augustan], for freedmen/slaves, *CIL* I^2 972, more material in Bouwer 1989, 254–296.

[109] Liv. 39.13.8f. with North 2003, 205f.; Turcan 2003, 9f.; Schultz 2006, 82–92.

[110] *CIL* VI 36815 al.

[111] For such festivals cf. Gagé 1963, 13–24.

relevant deities.[112] A further case in point is the annual offering of the first-fruits to Ceres, which was performed by Roman matrons,[113] while the cult of Ceres as a whole (for instance at the *Cerialia*) was, of course, not restricted to them.

The same is true the other way around: for instance, the fact that women were excluded from worship of Hercules Invictus at the Ara Maxima does not mean that women could not in principal appeal to the god in other contexts (although they would not do so normally).[114] Another case is that of Silvanus/Faunus, predominantly believed to be a 'male' god with specific places dedicated to him and explicitly reserved to men.[115] Nevertheless, dedications by women to him are well attested in Rome and elsewhere, despite the existence of his female counterpart Fauna. Such dedications by women to him, rather than to his female counterpart, give the lie to literary evidence which claims that the worship of Silvanus/Faunus was reserved to men.[116] It should also be noted that lower class women participated in a number of corporations (*collegia*) of the underprivileged that are mentioned above. In such cases, women must have worshipped the same corporate gods as men.[117] The only god that appears to have been fundamentally male-oriented, in the full sense of the word, was the cult of Mithras.[118] In short, specific ceremonies or cult places may have been exclusive (especially if such exclusion was officially sanctioned). In addition, certain deities may have attracted one sex more than the other, due to gender-specific competences (e.g. childbirth, motherhood, war). But with the possible exception of Mithras, any god of the Roman pantheon could be—and for the most part actually was—worshipped by either sex.

When we consider the case of the Christian community in Rome, a special place must be reserved for female followers. Women of the underprivileged strata of society played a remarkable, if not the domi-

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[112] Cf. e.g. *CIL* VI 360 [dedication of an altar by a man to Iuno Lucina, 166 A.D.].

[113] Wissowa 1912, 300f.; Le Bonniec 1958, 416–420.

[114] Schultz 2006, 61–69.

[115] *CIL* VI 579.

[116] *CIL* VI 581, 31003; *AE* 1971, 31 with Dorcey 1989, 220–228.

[117] Waltzing I, 348f.; IV 254–257.

[118] Beck 1996, 177. This holds true even if we accept some very circumstantial evidence for the involvement of women in the cult of the god, following David 2000. The inscription found at S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome (*AnnEpigr.* 1980, 18f. [no. 51]) does not necessarily refer to Mithras (Clauss 1992, 24f. n. 94), *pace* David 2000, 127–129, neither does *CIL* VI 377 (Bömer 1981, 170f.).

nant role among Roman Christians in the mid-first century A.D., as has been plausibly inferred from Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*.[119] However, a little later, towards the end of the century, the first *Epistle of Clement* explicitly restricts the active involvement of women,[120] although in practice they remained a dynamic element in the Christian community in Rome in the second century A.D. Whatever their actual access to decision-making bodies, by 200 A.D. the percentage of confessing female Christians in Rome was appreciably higher among the senatorial class than among the underprivileged strata; this caused complications with regard to the admissibility of unions between senatorial women and lower-class men.[121]

[119] Lampe 1989, 136–138.
[120] Lampe 1989, 121.
[121] Lampe 1989, 119–121, 96–99, 297.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

Whether because of the vicissitudes of fortune, which have preserved architectural remains of many ancient buildings, or because of its intrinsic importance for the formation of Roman concepts of the 'divine', space is the most conspicuous constituent concept of Roman 'gods' for a modern observer. All major Roman gods were clearly and emphatically marked by permanent spatial foci of their cults in the city, especially by a temple. In addition, space was also a prime parameter in creating Roman myths.[1]

Spatial foci were connected to the conceptualization of the god in other categories. Once established, a spatial focus often resulted in the celebration of anniversaries to mark the foundation of the new cult (temporal focus), as well as the establishment of new cult attendants (personnel focus) and the erection of cult statues (iconographic focus). The lack of permanent spatial focalization was a distinctive mark of both Christianity and Judaism in comparison to traditional Roman polytheism.

It was spatial independence that gave the Christian and Jewish gods an advantageous position: first, it made them virtually impregnable and 'immune' to imperial intervention. Since the Jewish and Christian gods were not spatially bound, their cult was elusive and beyond the control of Roman officialdom. Second, such independence made the Christian and Jewish gods extremely marketable merchandises that could easily be accommodated to virtually any environment without further expense. The latter point was reinforced by the monotheistic character of the two gods, allowing their export virtually anywhere without the necessity to accommodate their functions (naturally, a single god was functionally indifferent).[2] In fact, in their striking lack of spatial focalization and functional self-sufficiency the Christian and Jewish gods were the only 'international gods' of the ancient world, the gods, as pointedly

[1] *RoR* I, 173: "Roman myths were in essence myths of place", with the response by Bendlin 2001, 193–195.

[2] See chapter I.4.

remarked by Weber, favored by "itinerant journeyman",[3] or in the words of Ando, "in ambition a truly imperialist cult."[4] It was not until Constantine the Great that the Christian concept of god began to be formed by spatial foci.

Urbanization played a role in the formation of polytheistic systems. Rome had been densely inhabited since the era of the kings, and its population may have been as high as 1.000.000 at the time of Augustus. Indeed, imperial Rome was the largest city in pre-industrial Europe,[5] a fact that a constant flow of immigrants helped to sustain.[6] In a polytheistic culture, demographic density and fluctuation, caused by immigration, were tantamount to a dense and constantly shifting system of divine concepts, all competing with each other. The only guarantee of stability and continuity was a permanent spatial focus for the cult.

A similar connection between urbanization and spatial focalization of cults is evident in Greece, Egypt and other Near Eastern polytheistic systems, where advanced urban structures led to a strong spatial focalization of their cults. For example, a list of the momuments of Babylon, compiled no later than the mid-seventh century B.C., mentions, among other buildings, 180 street altars of Ištar alone, and altogether, almost 400 shrines and more than 50 temples dedicated to the great gods.[7]

By contrast, the permanent spatial focalization of cults is virtually non-existent in the case of Vedic India, where spatial foci are mainly afforded by the temporary establishment of sacrificial areas.[8] It is no coincidence that urban structures of Vedic India were virtually absent, as it was "a tribal community of semi-resident cattle raisers".[9] A similar case can be made for early Iranian cults: due to their semi-nomadic life, the Iranians worshipped their gods 'at pleasure' anywhere though with a preference for high places and water springs. This was the case until the fifth century B.C.[10] Herodotus explicitly records that even in his days the Persians did not build temples.[11] It is presumably under

[3] Weber, *Economy*, 512.
[4] Ando 2007, 445.
[5] Morley 1996, 33–39; Scheidel 2001, 50–52.
[6] Morley 1996, 50–54.
[7] E. Unger, in: *RdA* I (1932), 331f.; 349–364.
[8] Oberlies II, 132–134.
[9] Oberlies I, 334–336, esp. 337; cf. id. II, 107–118, 128 with n. 8.
[10] Boyce I, 16f. II, 5–7, 21–23.
[11] Herod. 1.131 with Boyce II, 179f.

Darius II (423–404) that cult images and temples appear for the first time.[12] But even Xenophon, who would certainly have been aware of the situation, remains silent about Persian temple worship.[13]

The lack of spatial focalization had an immediate impact on two other conceptual categories, namely time and iconography. To begin with time: the lack of spatial foci led to a less intense temporal focalization of the cult, since a spatial focus naturally facilitated and required the temporal coordination of cult activities. The latter is most apparent in the case of Egypt, where all major temples demonstrably possessed their own detailed cult calendars.[14] This is the reason why a detailed liturgical Christian calendar (including the anniversaries of saints) developed slowly and only in the wake of a gradual 'spatialization' of the Christian cult from the early fourth century onwards. The only date firmly fixed (and at times heavily disputed) in the Christian cult from an early period was that of Easter.

If we compare other polytheistic systems that operated without particular spatial focalization of their cults, we come to a similar conclusion. For example, spring and autumn equinoxes must have been fixed of old in the Vedic and early Iranian calendars.[15] Given the pastoral nature of these societies, one would assume most festivals to have been what the Romans called *feriae conceptivae*. One cannot exclude the possibility that certain festivals were actually devoted to a single god, although Vedic hymns suggest that normally, a plurality of gods was invoked on such occasions. Temporal focalization was therefore limited.[16] It was only in the later fifth or early fourth century B.C., that the Persians established the Zoroastrian calendar which assigned a *yazata* ('being worthy of worship' ≈ 'god') to each day and thus came close to paralleling the calendar of saints in the Christian Church.[17] This dovetails neatly with the observation that the first Persian sanctuaries had been built by then (see below).

With regard to iconography, the absence of spatial foci resulted in a lack of iconographic foci. For any iconographic focus, i.e. *de facto* a cult image of some sort, would have implied a cultic focalization on the

[12] Boyce II, 201–204, cf. 216–218.
[13] Boyce II, 216.
[14] H. Altenmüller, in: *LdÄ* II (1977), cols. 180, 184f. n. 2; K. A. Kitchen, ibid. *cols.* 191f.
[15] Oberlies I, 269–315; Boyce I, 171–177; II, 23–25, 144f.
[16] Oldenberg 1917, 438f.
[17] Boyce I, 194–196 [*yazata*]; II 243–251 [Zoroastrian calendar].

exact spot where the image was displayed. Thus, the absence of cult images in Vedic or early Iranian religion made the erection of temples unnecessary. Consequently, neither cult image nor focalization was found there.[18] In India, we hear of cult images towards the end of the Vedic age, viz. in the Sutras (ca. 500–200 B.C.).[19] It is fair to suggest that this implies an increasing spatialization of the Vedic cults. Nevertheless, the poets of the *Mahābhārata* (the compostion of which had been largely completed by the fourth century A.D.), make no explicit reference to temple worship.[20] In Persia, cult images and temples came into being towards the end of the fifth century B.C.[21] It is interesting to note that exactly the same connection between spatial and iconographic foci is found in Christian tradition. For it is with Constantine the Great that Christianity began to represent divinity in art in the form of icons. And it was by this time that 'spatialization' of Christianity began.

Three categories were relatively independent of spatial focalization: personnel, functions and rituals. To compensate for their lack of spatial focalization, Vedic and early Iranian gods were predominantly conceptualized through priestly personnel and above all through highly sophisticated, though spatially indifferent ritual foci in the course of sumptuous and complicated sacrificial ceremonies. In early India, we find a strong personnel focalization, as with the Brahman priest in the cult of Indra or the Adhvaryu priest in the cult of the Ašvins.[22] One should also take into consideration the priestly seers and their families, who took on the composition, compilation, preservation and explanation of Vedic hymns. In this respect, early Iranian cults did not differ significantly from their Indian cousins.[23] The complex rituals, especially those of the sacrifice, the knowledge of which lay in the hands of these priests, were an important factor in both Indian and Iranian cults.[24]

The ruler cult is essentially a result of the political system, with the proviso that power is concentrated in the hands of a single individual, who ultimately is able to command divine worship. The apparent human nature of this person has then to be reconciled with the claim to divinity. It is well known that imperial worship had not existed in Rome before

[18] Oberlies I, 271; Boyce I 22; II, 21–23, 179f.
[19] McDonell 1899, 71.
[20] Sutton 2000, 59f.
[21] Boyce II, 216–218.
[22] Oberlies I, 274f.
[23] Boyce I, 9–13; II, 19–21.
[24] Oldenberg 1917, 437–474; Oberlies I, 269–315; Boyce I, 147–177.

Caesar and when it gradually began to evolve, it had no cultic foci of its own, since no corresponding cult had existed beforehand. This led to an intense and deliberate attempt on the part of Roman officialdom to conjoin the emperor superficially to extant cultic foci, through which other gods were conceptualized. For example, from this point on the emperor would be assimilated to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus in virtually all conceptual categories, with the result that the cultic foci of Iuppiter became increasingly blurred. Beginning as a distinct divine concept in the Republic, he ended up a shapeless diffuse chiffre 'presiding' over scores of heterogeneous and variously connected divine concepts. It is a fair assumption (though this would warrant detailed study) that such defocalization was the inevitable outcome of *all* ruler cults. To illustrate my point using a non-Roman example: a citizen decree, presumably from Elaea, the port of the Pergamene kingdom and dating to the middle of the second century B.C., provides for the erection of a life-sized cult image of Attalus III in the temple of Asclepius; this was to allow Attalus to 'share' the temple with Asclepius. Furthermore, the decree provided for another statue of the king to be placed directly next to the altar of Zeus Soter in the market place. The high priest of the city as well as the king's priest were ordered to make daily offerings of incense 'for' or 'to' the king (the Greek dative is ambiguous) on the altar of Zeus Soter. The day of the ruler's return (from his embassy to Rome in 153 B.C.) was declared a 'holiday' and was marked by a procession to the temple of Asclepius, led by the priest of the same god. The sacred meal was paid for from the funds of the god. Whenever the king returned, sacrifices were to be offered 'for' or 'to' the king on the altars of Zeus Soter, Hestia Boulaia, and Zeus Boulaios.[25] In short, the new conceptual foci of the divine Attalus were grafted on to conceptual foci of various important Pergamene gods, thereby reducing the latter to auxiliary foci who merely 'hosted' the imperial cult.

Let me draw on my argumentation thus far and offer the following conclusions:

1. The permanent spatial focalization of polytheistic cults was directly linked to urbanization. It was the high degree of urbanization of the city of Rome, especially during the imperial period, that rendered spatial focalization an important parameter in conceptualizing a Roman god at this time.

[25] *OGIS* 332 with Nock I, 219f.

2. A lack of permanent spatial focalization was directly linked to a lack of temporal and iconographic focalization. This is evident in the early Christian cult as well as in Indo-Iranian religions. In these cases, temporal and iconographic foci became relevant when spatial foci were established. Meanwhile, personnel, functional and ritual foci of a cult operated more independently, with less emphasis on space.

3. The Roman imperial cult led to an intense defocalization of traditional conceptual foci and in doing so, contributed substantially to the ascent of Christianity.

4. The rise of Christianity among pagan polytheistic systems was essentially due to three parameters: lack of spatial focalization, ritual simplicity, and self-sufficiency with regard to functional focalization. The lack of spatial focalization made Christianity impervious to external interference and an affordable commodity, not to mention the fact that it could be easily propagated everywhere. This aspect was reinforced by the simplicity of its ritual, which consisted of little more than prayer and made the Christian cult easily learnable, without the necessary agency of a priest. Finally, the functional self-sufficiency of Christianity enabled it to develop internationally and remain homogeneous in terms of its functional appearance.

5. It was Constantine the Great who virtually developed the systematic spatialization of the Christian cult, including the basilica, the new building type which served as its spatial focus *par excellence*.

6. The spatialization of Christianity was in fact a concession to the pagan way of conceptualizing gods. It radically changed the nature of the Christian god, significantly accelerating the process of iconographic and temporal focalization of the Christian cult and making it much more 'pagan' in outlook.

7. Conceptualization of the 'divine' facilitated coordinated action among individuals who basically lacked a coordinated *modus operandi*, i.e. it served to form temporary or permanent *communities*. Following this line of reasoning, Roman gods were a means, self-imposed on urban society, in order to coordinate and thus ensure collective target-oriented action. In the public domain, the classic case of this coordinating role of the gods was Roman warfare. Here, human action targeted divine concepts—Iuppiter most of all—in order to form a temporary community of warriors. On a private level, it may suffice to point to the cult of the *dei penates* as essentially constituting the community of the Roman *familia*, or to cults of Roman trade associations (*collegia*) which forged communities of common economic interests. Furthermore, the

erection of Capitolia in Roman cities throughout the Empire served one major purpose: to redirect local devotional practices, hitherto targeting traditional local gods, towards Rome. The emperor was the one human being able—and eager—to represent Rome. His deification can only be considered a natural consequence of this tendency towards 'Romanization'.

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